

JOURNAL of FORCES

1925

Number 3

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THE REVIEWER

January, 1925

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The Search After Values

THE CONFLICT OF IDEALS

In his recent summary of the last fifty years or more of the history of political theory Professor Merriam lists three outstanding social features of this era. These are the further development of industrialism and urbanism, the new contacts of diverse races or nationalities, and the rise of feminism. The question may be raised as to whether there is not now on the horizon a fourth in the form of the more marked conflict of ideals, especially the recurring conflict between science and religion, the conflict between progressive and conservative, the conflict between races, and the conflict between the intellectually and socially experienced dogmatist and the other dogmatists.

The JOURNAL, of course, finds plenty of this in its own articles and among its own contributors. Elsewhere it observes the same evidences. Massachusetts, with its quarrel over the orthodoxy of history texts and its Harvard quarrels, New York over its Blue Laws, North Carolina with its bitterness over evolution and orthodoxy, Colorado over its Judge Lindsey and the Ku-Klux, Kansas with its perennial strife, Georgia with its Gutzon Borglum and the Stone Mountain Memorial, Tennessee and Fisk University, and the ever increasing conflict of ideals among the Negroes themselves—these and many others indicate a period of stress and storm which may challenge not only the best of our thinking and living but also the limit of our social technique and the ability of our great institutions to serve adequately as buffer between the individual and social change. It is an era for bigness.

William Allen White's forthcoming discussions of social currents and movements in America under the general title "The Cycle of Cathay" will prove one of the most interesting contributions in recent years. The first of the series will appear in the May *JOURNAL*.

The late President *G. Stanley Hall* has often been rated as among the most versatile of Ameri-

can scholars and educators and also the most tolerant and broad minded in his search after truth. Miss Pruette recently in *The Century* called him the Playboy of Western Scholarship. He was also nearly always a storm center of heresy in his psychology and in his religion, being nevertheless a true seeker after truth and often a prophet of major proportions. His last studies were being devoted to an exhaustive inquiry into the modern conflict of youth and age. *The JOURNAL* is fortunate enough to have secured this material which it will endeavor to present to its readers from time to time and in such way as to give the results of Dr. Hall's researches as far as possible.

During the last year the number of books published on religion alone approximated seven hundred volumes, the largest number of any save fiction alone. Here is remarkable evidence of one of the great problems of this era, the problem of the readjustment between the material and the spiritual. Professor *Hankins* will review, along with a half dozen other reviewers, many of these volumes. *The JOURNAL* does not profess enough specialization in this field to accept the interpretation of the authors, or of the reviewers, whether extremely orthodox or severely critical. It cannot, however, ignore this large cross section of literature which is coming to underlie our modern social order.

We have recently read from the pen of a national journal of distinction the verdict that for every case of typhoid fever resulting from the oyster infection there ought to be a hanging, and from the same pen similar implications that there ought to be ample hanging for those who hang the other folks. Perhaps thereby hangs a tale. Certainly, however, there is a lot of heated intolerance in the chairs of the learned, just as there is from the fields and mills. Said one other editor in substance, "There are a few sincere opponents of the child labor amendment, and to these we

must turn our attention." How is judgment to be based in this instance, and which of the millions of farm folk are not sincere and honest? Or, which of the vast number of advocates to outlaw war or revivify Christianity shall our enthusiastic Americans send to Russia and which ones leave at home? These and other *conflict of ideals* will be discussed in summaries of the forces at work for and against the child labor movement, in articles dealing with the conflict within the Negro race itself, and others dealing with various forms of strife. They will be presented as objective studies, however, gathering data from many sources, and not as subjective opinions.

One of the most interesting and comprehensive statistical studies we have seen is Professor Sorokin's forthcoming study of American millionaires. Here are facts which we have wanted to know about as we have about American Men of Science or Who's Who. Professor Sorokin finds the American millionaire or multi-millionaire a pretty respectable citizen and least of all a member of the leisure class.

George Mitchell presents another interesting study of conflicting ideals in his survey of the labor unions of the South. A Southerner himself, from a family that has studied southern industry and progress for many years, he is in a position to present a fair picture. It will be worth while to all who are interested in the industrial evolution now going on the country over.

The influence of Christianity upon the state and government by *Howard W. Odum* shows an interesting story of forward and backward steps and something of the present-day challenge of Christian ideals.

The editorial notes for May will be presented under the title of "A Southern Promise" and will suggest four limitations of the South, all of which, it seems to the editors, may be overcome.

Beginning with the May number *Gerald W. Johnson* will be in charge of this department of Search After Values and will combine a review of certain modern tendencies with discussion of books and literary criticism which have for their main theme the social emphasis.

F. Stuart Chapin of the University of Minnesota will present a paper representing the work of a "baker's dozen" years in relation to certain cycles and currents. Professor Bernard of the same institution will, following his Comteian classification, present his second paper on the theories of progress in the discussion of "The Metaphysical Phase."

There will be the usual rich variety of departmental discussions and other studies: *Dwight Sanderson* with a discussion of farmers' standards of living, *Ezra Bowen's* "The March of Power," *Francis Marion Dunford's* "Conflicting Forces in Negro Progress," *J. L. Gillin's* discussion of contributions for charity and religion in the county, *Ada Sheffield's* unusual paper on some newer aspects of interview, *Guion Griffis Johnson's* presentation of certain aspects of feminism and economic independence.

An especially strong department for the community and neighborhood is offered by *LeRoy E. Bowman*, Chairman of the Committee on the Community for the National Conference for Social Work. A number of other articles will be of special interest in relation to the National Conference, which is to be held at Denver in June, as announced in other columns of *The JOURNAL*.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER OF THE JOURNAL

Edward Carey Hayes, a former president of the American Sociological Society, is head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Illinois. He has been a frequent contributor to sociological journals. *John L. Gillin*, Professor of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin, is one of *The JOURNAL's* most popular contributors. His new book on criminology will soon appear from the press. *Warren S. Thompson* has been

specially interested in the social aspects of eugenics and is making important contributions from the Scripps Foundation. *M. J. Karpf* has recently become head of the Jewish Training School for Social Work, and has gone from Chicago to New York. His work there will be closely correlated with the New York School of Social Work. *Julia Collier Harris* and *Julian Harris* are worthy successors of Joel Chandler Harris

in their editorship of the Columbus Enquirer-Sun (Georgia). Mrs. Harris has written also an excellent study of "Joel Chandler Harris: The Modern Constructive Realist," which will appear in a new volume, "Southern Pioneers in Social Interpretation," in May. L. L. Bernard, Professor of Sociology at the University of Minnesota, has just published a new volume on "Instinct" and his forthcoming book on "Social Psychology" will be awaited with great interest. Arthur W. Calhoun is a native of Tennessee and has written an excellent history of the family. He is a member of the faculty of the Brookwood Labor College. Lorine Pruette, author of a recent article in *The Century* on "G. Stanley Hall, The Playboy of Western Scholarship," writes interestingly of what she calls "Fads and Fancies." It is likely that many will not agree with her conclusions, but it is also likely that there will be need for many more discussion of fads and fancies in the social field. J. H. Kolb has contributed many special studies in rural organization at the University of Wisconsin. In this number he introduces a topic with "Next Steps in Rural Social Research" and is followed by discussions of Carl C. Taylor of North Carolina State College, C. E. Lively of Ohio State University, L. L. Bernard of University of Minnesota, and S. H. Hobbs, University of North Carolina. This series will be reprinted together, making a most interesting little brochure for classroom use. I. M. Rubinow, as chairman of the Inter-Racial Committee of Pennsylvania and certain industrial relations committees, has made unusually interesting contributions to these fields. He has agreed to give *The Journal* some of the results of his experiences later on. Emory S. Bogardus is making of *The Journal of Applied Sociology* an unusually attractive medium, much needed in the field of sociology. LeRoy E. Bowman, Secretary of the National Community Center Association, presents, besides his own discussion, two excellent studies, one by Eleanor T. Glueck illustrating the difficulties in neighborhood organization in Boston, and one by Alice G. Brandies showing an

excellent type of work in Massachusetts communities. Mr. Justice Brandies may find from Mrs. Brandies' social studies interesting material for his study of social justice. The article by LeRoy A. Ramsdell, Professor of Community Organization at the New York School of Social Work, discusses the relationship of social work and the church in the community in an impersonal way. It is interesting to note that the Federal Council of Churches has authorized a committee to see if there cannot be better working relations between the workers of the church and of the general social workers of the community. Melville J. Herskovits is doing research with the National Research Council, and may be remembered as writing for *The Journal* a review of "White America" which was severely criticized by Major Powell of Richmond. Charles A. Beard, former professor of politics at Columbia University, stepped down from his writing and teaching at the New School for Social Research long enough to make interesting suggestions to students in municipal government in the practical field. Clifford Kirkpatrick's "Selective Immigration" is one in a series of *The Journal's* special discussion of this general subject and will be followed by others. Mary Van Kleeck is making known to the public some unusual results of long-time studies in industrial relationships. M. W. Heiss is Secretary of the Southern Textile Social Service Association, and is earnestly endeavoring to make this group one of constructive service to a great field of Southern interests. Harriet Herring is specialist in personnel studies in the Carolina Cotton and Woolen Mills. She will be undertaking next year, in coöperation with the University Institute for Research in Social Science, some extensive studies. The personnel of the *Book Reviewers* in this number may be found in the "Library and Workshop." One of the most comprehensive review of books on religion, modernism and sin that we have seen, while set up for this number, had to be held over for May. They are by Frank Hankins, H. M. Parshley, J. S. Bixler, and John Francis O'Brien.

The JOURNAL of SOCIAL FORCES

Volume III

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THREE ASPECTS OF A SOCIAL SITUATION

EDWARD C. HAYES

RESEARCH is a filling in of details. Any particular piece of research is justified if it supplies one important detail in the complicated picture of social reality. But details have no meaning unless they are seen as parts of the picture. In order to see the picture truly we must constantly be trying to see it *whole*. It is only by assembling the details that we can hope to see the picture either whole or truly. Yet it would be a misfortune and tend to the stultification of science if in our pursuit of details we should neglect the intellectually difficult task of trying to see the picture whole.

In this effort the aspects of the whole social reality first to be distinguished are what we figuratively call "the structural" and "the functional." By the functional aspect of social reality we mean *the process of social activity*. We have learned that customs and institutions exist as systems of activity, ways of doing things, each of which is part of a larger system of activity in which all customs and institutions are woven together into a living whole. By the structural aspect of social reality we mean the groups and individuals by which and by whom these activities are carried on. Function is activity, structure is what acts. We say groups and *individuals* because individuals, as truly as groups, are parts of the social structure, each individual being a product not only of biological heredity but also of social interaction and being highly complex, a product of participation in numerous social activities. In our explanations we observe that the causal or conditioning factors are of four kinds: first, biological traits; second, a geographical, a

natural material environment; third, a technic or artificial material environment of palaces and slums, railroads, telephones and other products of the social past which are at the same time conditions of the social present and future; fourth, and above all, social activities themselves, for every social activity is conditioned by other social activities and this it is which makes it a *social* activity.

But besides the two aspects of social reality which we call functional and structural there are three other aspects of the social reality which belong to a different category, and it is these to which attention is here called. Now one and now another of these three is distinctly implied in current sociological discussion. But seldom or never are these three envisaged together as they must be in order to see social reality as a whole. Indeed the first of the three is seldom or never clearly perceived and stated. The three aspects of social reality now referred to may be called (1) the physiological, (2) the psychic (or conscious), and (3) the overt.¹

I write upon a table, but there are thousands who write, not on a table, but *auf einem Tisch*. I walk out wearing a hat, but thousands wear not a hat, but *un chapeau*. To me this is a table, to others it is *ein Tisch*. I respond to the stimulus of this object with the word table, they with the word *Tisch*. This illustrates the fact that the English language has become a part of me. An English speaking man is organically, physiologic-

¹ Compare an article entitled "The Sociological Point of View," by the present writer, in the Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. XVI, page 1, especially page 4 and following.

ally, a different creature from a German or French speaking man. When the stars and stripes unfold upon a ceremonial occasion a response is awakened in me that the same stimulus does not awaken in a German or Frenchman. That is because we have become different creatures from Germans or Frenchmen. All our customs and our institutions exist in us as physiological structures. The millions of neural centers, with which biological nature first provides us, with their sprangling dendrites and axones reaching out, become connected up, as a result of responding to the stimulations of the social environment in which we grow up, into activity patterns. Repetition of these responses makes these structures permanent as habits of action, thought and sentiment. It is thus that we become Americans, Germans or Frenchmen, Republicans or Democrats, Catholics or Protestants. It is thus, indeed, that we become human beings, in any complete sense of that phrase. Without in the least undervaluing the hereditary endowment by which all these possibilities are contributed and their limits set, it is now clear that the realization of these possibilities is by such responses to social environment, and that these responses result in producing a new creature. We are each twice born, once of biological heredity as a bundle of diverse unrealized possibilities, and once of traditions and responses to social contacts. It would be as truly impossible to produce what we recognize as a human being without the second as without the first.²

When I look out of the window and see my neighbor passing, although he is not speaking, I see an English speaking man, although he is not voting, I see a Republican, although he is not worshipping, I see a Presbyterian, although he is not before the bar, I see a lawyer. Any social situation exists as a collection of human organisms that have become the bearers of a particular culture, particular opinions, prejudices, senti-

ments, tastes, ambitions, skills, customs, institutions. This is the physiological aspect of the social reality.

The second aspect of the social reality is the *psychic* or conscious. It is participation in the social process. It is activity as it exists for the actor. It is my neighbor's talking, voting, worshipping, pleading before the bar. It is the similar activities of all the members of society, as they exist for the actors.

Here it is essential to remind ourselves that ideas and feelings are activities as truly as movements of the muscles. Ideas and feelings are the psychic or conscious aspect of activity, and all activity is for the actor a succession of ideas³ and feelings. The activity with which he responds to an external stimulus begins with a sensation. When a camper *sees* that a squirrel has gnawed his bacon, and *plans* and *sets* a trap for the squirrel, "seeing" and "planning" are as truly parts of the active response to the situation as "setting." All consciousness⁴ is functional, it is action. An idea or a feeling is not a thing but an act, an event in the life process.

It is common to call this aspect of social activity its "subjective" aspect. But this is not the best usage. It is true that every item of social activity, in this aspect, is subjective to some one. But only that tiny fragment of social activity of which I am the subject is subjective to me, and the rest of the socially prevalent opinions and sentiments are objective to me if they are anything to me at all. And it cannot be said that they are nothing to me. The thoughts and feelings of associates are to me objective psychic realities. To make the words psychic and subjective synonymous is equivalent to saying that for me the thoughts and feelings of others are non-existent. They are not non-existent for me. On the contrary they are the social reality in its most essential aspect. It is true they are objectively known to me only indirectly by their results or overt manifestations. So also is electricity known to me only by its results or manifestations. But electricity is none the less real and objective to me.

³ This of course is using the terms "ideas" and "feelings" in a broad inclusive sense.

⁴ Consciousness is a generic name for all ideas and feelings. It is not something behind ideas and feelings or something in which ideas and feelings exist; it *is* ideas and feelings.

² The ghastly murder recently committed in Chicago by two young men of superior natural endowment, who had never known struggle and therefore never known zest, who were bored by life and desperately sought the zest it had failed to give, and who set little value on the life of any one, however much they might instinctively shrink from dying themselves, illustrate the danger of a pleasure economy, and how the most elementary essentials of a social character may fail to be formed in a highly artificial social environment in which the prestige of all tradition—in their case specifically the Jewish tradition—had been broken down.

The psychic aspect of social activity is the most essential and most important for three reasons. First, in this aspect of activity all the *values* of life inhere. All joy and sorrow, all the zest and worth of life are qualities of its psychic aspect. The values that inhere in life as a psychic reality, as experience, are the only ultimate or independent values that we know. All else besides has only derivative or mediating value—that is, value which is derived from the value of psychic experience, and exists only because, and insofar as these other valuable things mediate, that is promote or are means to, values in experience. Good experience, life in its intimate inner aspect, alone is good, in and of itself. Other things are only “good for something,” and that something for which they are good is always good experience, good psychic life. Other things have no goodness in and of themselves, but only this secondary and borrowed goodness, borrowed from the goodness of life, due to and measured by the fact that they are means of promoting life.

The second reason why the psychic aspect of social activity is the most important of the three is that it is the one that we want to control, both for its own sake and also because it is only by controlling it, that we can control either of the other two. There is no way to build the organic structure of socialized personality except by evoking active responses, which for the actor are psychic in nature and which may or may not be overtly manifested. The only way to develop a sentiment as an organic habit is to have men, still more children, feel the sentiment as a psychic experience. The only way to develop habits of thought is to have them think. And even socialized habits of overt conduct, like skill in using the typewriter or good manners, are formed only by activity which in its inner essence is thought and feeling. And finally the only way to control the overt aspect of the social activity of men on any considerable scale, to socialize their conduct, is by controlling their ideas (opinions, beliefs, etc.) and their sentiments (tastes, ambitions, approvals, disapprovals).

Third, the psychic aspect of social activity is the most important from the point of view of explanation, which is the goal of science. It is the most important to explain not only because it is the most interesting since it contains all the

values of life but also because to explain the psychic aspect of social activity is also the way, and the only way, to explain its overt aspect. Moreover to explain the psychic aspect is the only way to get scientific control over social life in any of its three aspects. We gain scientific control only by learning the conditions by which the result to be controlled is molded. Then insofar as we can control the conditions we can control the result. And as we have just seen it is only by controlling the conditions that mold the psychic responses that we can control the formation of the acquired organic structures that constitute the physiological aspect of the social situation. Likewise, it is by controlling those psychic responses (ideas and feelings) that we control the overt conduct.

Thus we see that the psychic aspect of social activities is of primary importance with reference to the values of life, with reference to the control of life, and with reference to the scientific task of the explanation of life.

The third aspect of social activity is the *overt*. This is always muscular movement, whether in speech, or work or play. This is important for its results and as the manifestation of the psychic activities. It is the final aspect of activity. Not all of our activity reaches this aspect. Some of it stops with thinking and feeling. But it is only because all kinds of social activity do in a sufficient number of cases develop into this final stage that all kinds of social activity are open to scientific observation—and even their psychic character is in the scientific sense objective.

And here it is of incalculable importance to observe that this third or overt aspect of social activity is accessible to statistical measurement. Many sociologists have been unnecessarily willing to admit that social activities can not be studied by the statistical method. When we count the number of times a man attends church we are not merely counting something that indirectly reveals social activities, we are counting social activities themselves in their overt aspect. And while the overt aspect of a social activity is not the whole of it and we need to exercise care in inferring what its other aspects are, and to assemble different kinds of overt manifestations of similar psychic activities, we can in large degree measure statistically not only the prevalence but also the

strength or intensity of the social activities themselves, by counting them in their overt aspect. In no field of science is observation complete, not even in astronomy. We cannot make a census of violets, or daisies or microbes. And qualitative knowledge is often of enormous scientific and practical value. But it is not yet commonly realized how far sociological research can go in the

actual quantitative statistical measurement of social activities.

Habitually to keep in mind these three aspects of social reality, physiological, psychic and overt, is an essential to seeing social situations whole. The importance of doing so reveals itself not alone in some one type of sociological discussion or research, but in many, if not in all, and at a hundred points.

RESTATEMENT OF THE OBJECTIVES OF SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

II. FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF A TEACHER OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

J. L. GILLUN

SINCE the studies by Steiner and Tufts those who are engaged in the task of training social workers have had some further experience. Our subject implies that it is time for a restatement of the objectives.

WHAT ARE THE FUNCTIONS OF SOCIAL WORKERS?

Any statement of the objective of training must be based upon a clear visualization of the functions of social workers. What do they do, is the question we must answer before we can state the objective of training. The attempts to describe the various fields of social work which have been going on for a number of years have helped to answer this question. The two studies of Tufts and Steiner referred to devoted considerable attention to the problem. As a preliminary to a restatement of the objectives may we not generalize the findings of these two studies.

In general we may say that there are four large fields of social work considered from the standpoint of functions: (1) The Field of Social Case Work. (2) The Field of Group Work. (3) The Field of Administration. (4) The Field of Research and Publicity.

(1) *The Field of Case Work*: The function of the case workers is the adjustment of individuals to their environment by changes in their bodily, mental, social and economic habits and tendencies by personal contacts and suggestions on the part of the case worker and those whom she may enlist to assist her. The maladjustment may be

that of dependency, of family desertion, delinquency, the placement of a homeless child, proper arrangements for the mother and illegitimate child, the protection of youth, employment, or any one of a dozen other intricate problems involving the adjustment of the individual to the circumstances of life.

(2) *The Field of Group Work*: Here the function is the modification of the individual primarily by group psychology and by a change of the social environment. It includes such fields as recreation, settlements, community music and drama, social centers, boy scouts and similar organizations.

(3) *The Field of Administration*: Here the function is that of the administrator in the organization of workers for effective performance of the tasks assigned them and the coördination of the work of the whole organization with that of other related organizations for more effective results in remedial and preventive measures. The field of administration of course includes practically all organized social activities. It reaches into the field of social legislation and is closely related to each of the fields already mentioned and the one next to be discussed.

(4) *The Field of Research and Publicity*: The function of the worker in this field is to visualize clearly the problems in all the fields already mentioned, to evaluate methods by ascertaining results, to show trends by a study of time and space sequences and variations and to anticipate movements and thus suggest methods of prevention.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTIVES BY A GROUP OF PROFESSORS OF SOCIOLOGY

In the endeavor to secure a sample of opinion among professors of sociology on the objectives of training for social work I sent a letter to a number of such professors who had shown some interest in the problems of training. I received replies from eleven. Two had nothing to suggest. In addition to the nine who replied with suggestions I have consulted again the monographs by Tufts and Steiner. Therefore the report of these suggestions which nine give, include the statements of ten professors of sociology and one professor of philosophy. What do these professors suggest as to training objectives?

1. A Background of General Education: Practically all the replies indicate the firm conviction that those who are going into social work should have a rather broad general education. Most of them insist in addition that they should have a background of training in the social studies. Permit me to quote from some of these replies. One of them after calling attention to the closer analogy between the training for social work and professional education for journalism and commerce than that between training for social work and medical schools or schools of engineering remarks, "The best course perhaps is to insist that graduates of the schools of social work shall through a thorough study of the social sciences achieve habits of study or an attitude of mind that will develop powers of insight into social situations." Professor Tufts in his *Education and Training for Social Work* published in 1923 insisted that, if the profession of social work is to be at all adequate to occupy and enlarge the field of social work, "It is evident that the broadest possible education in the biological, psychological and social sciences and in social philosophy is none too great" (pages 98-99). A professor of rural sociology remarks that the first objective is "to give the best possible training in background subject matter." Similar suggestions are made by six others.

As to the specific suggestions to be included in the background of training for social work my correspondents insist in general upon practically the same things. One suggests the training which will give, "the worker an appreciation of

human genetics, physiology, psychology and sociology." Another mentions such training as will train the student in the scientific view with respect to problems of human relations and social maladjustment; factual information about social relations supplemented from the broadening fields of such allied professions as medicine and law and some knowledge of scientific method as it may be applied to the social sciences.

In general, therefore, these teachers of sociology may be said to insist upon a background training which, as one of them puts it, will "train the worker to consider human beings as persons and as having personalities which are products largely of their group relations, to be familiar with the social group, the social process and social evolution, to acquaint the workers with theories of social progress and to view social welfare programs in relation to theories or hypotheses of social progress."

This emphasis upon background training seems to grow out of a conviction by a number of these teachers of sociology that, as one says, social workers, "frequently have little perspective concerning its relation to other activities," or as another puts it, "Social workers' attentions frequently demand, however, that social work education be mainly technical." Another of these teachers recognizes that there is a noticeable tendency for social work education to be interpreted more broadly and comprehensively, to be conceived of as requiring a general knowledge of the social sciences as well as skill or technique in rendering particular services.

2. Technical Training: These professors of sociology are also quite unanimous in their opinions as to the nature of the technical training. One suggests that it has four phases: (1) social case work, or work with individuals and families, (2) social group work, or work with groups, (3) community organization work, or work with people in the mass, (4) social investigation and social research, or work dealing with gathering facts and interpretation and also with more or less disinterested consideration of social processes and problems.

One of the group suggests that training for social work on the technical side should have as one of its objectives the preparation of teachers

as well as practitioners. He remarks, "Social work education probably has some contribution to make to the teaching profession both in the way of vitalizing the teaching and as a source of supply for additional teachers." He remarks that in his institution he has college graduates enrolled in the school who are planning to be teachers of social sciences and have come to gain experience and further preparation to that end.

Another prominent sociologist insists that the objective of training for social work "should not be education for specific technical positions, but should rather be education for social leadership." He says further that in his opinion if the social worker is of any real value to society he must be a social leader and only incidentally a technical expert. As you know, Professor Tufts suggested a program of training in technique, and also in leadership.

Still a fourth emphasis is voiced by two of the men, namely that upon training for administration. All admit the importance of technical training but one feels in reading the words of these teachers that they are not content that the training should be the narrow preparation of the mere technician in case work or group work which was supplied in former times by an apprenticeship method. Says one of them in speaking of the broad background training, "Such study of course must be accompanied by concrete experience but the emphasis should be upon the factors that bear upon the broader problems of social control rather than upon the technique of handling particular situations. The former can come only through a discipline of intensive and prolonged study while the latter can best be acquired through practical work experience." "In my judgment," he adds, "if the objective of social work education can be restated in accord with this point of view the schools of social work will be placed in a sound position where they can guide and promote the development of professional standards."

RESTATEMENT OF THE OBJECTIVES ON THE BASIS OF THE FUNCTIONS OF SOCIAL WORKERS

Profiting by these suggestions the writer of the paper has attempted to outline a restatement of the objectives in the training of social workers

from the point of view of a teacher of social science. It must be remembered, of course, that he himself, and most of these professors of sociology from whose writings he has quoted, are engaged in training social workers.

May we not say then that there are four objectives which from the standpoint of the sociologist should be kept closely in view in the professional schools for the training of social workers?

(1) *Preparation by studies in the curriculum to enable the student to understand how people behave under varying conditions of life.* Such studies would include sociology. By analysis of peoples' behavior in social life the student will clearly see how they actually act as social beings. This study should include an analysis of behavior in a homogeneous group, observing how they organize themselves and what are their group attitudes. He should also observe human behavior in a mixed group of different races, religions, nationalities, etc. Again it should include a study of the behavior of pathological individuals in society and the reactions of the other members of the group to them.

He should also have some acquaintance with the behavior of human beings in their economic relations, therefore his background preparation should include a study of economics, including at least elementary economics and a study of the relations between capital and labor, employers and employees.

As a further background for his understanding of group behavior he should study political science to understand how people have organized themselves for purposes of government. Only thus will he understand the political agencies which are to be used in social work and the various reactions of various classes of people to those agencies.

Finally every bit of life experience he can gain which will give him concrete contact with people in different relations of life will be of exceeding advantage in an understanding of how they behave. This may be obtained by associating with people of different sorts in clubs, classes, settlements, class rooms, campus activities, teaching school or business experience. In short, anything which brings him into contact with people and

enables him to observe their behavior is an education upon which may be built professional training later on.

(2) *Preparation by studies which throw light upon why people behave as they do:* Here lies the value of the biological studies, especially with its clarification of the problem of heredity. Often conduct can be explained by an understanding of the ancestral history.

Using medicine as a general term we may say that enough knowledge of medicine including physiology, biochemistry, hygiene, etc., should be known to show the influence of health and disease upon social behavior.

Psychology, at least functional psychology, should acquaint the student with the rôle of intelligence and emotions in man's social behavior. Without it, the student will flounder in vain to understand the behavior of people.

Finally sociology, at least certain aspects of it, such as historical sociology, social psychology and so-called applied sociology will explain to the student the rôle of constant trends and ideals. The study of social psychology, even as incomplete as it is at the present time, will throw light upon group behavior, through the study of tradition, custom, attitudes and the role of inter-stimulation and response in explaining conduct. Historical sociology will throw light upon the complexities and seeming absurdities of many of our institutions. It will assist in understanding the intangible, but none the less important influence of ideals, beliefs and institutions which grew up in various periods of social development and which survive in the agencies for various purposes in present day society, and will throw light upon the behavior of human beings living in the complex relations of today. Unless the student knows something about national, religious and racial psychology he will not successfully deal with the multiplicity of human attitudes and ideals which the social worker meets in his work with different nationalities, races and religions represented in our mixed population today.

(3) *Technical training and experience:* In addition to this background preparation for social work, and based upon it should be certain technical training and experience which prepare persons naturally endowed and carefully selected to deal successfully with others in making the ad-

justments, personal and social, necessary for effective living. Such training requires very careful individualization of the teaching process. While some of the work can be carried on in classes, and should be for the sake of the benefits of mutual discussion, some of it must be in the nature of individual conferences to adapt the teaching to the particular problems of each student. In such individualization in the teaching process the teacher must not only know the technique of case work which he is trying to teach, but must recognize that he himself is engaged in the most difficult kind of case work with each individual student.

In this work, however, no narrow conception of the technique of social work should dominate. The teacher must be prepared to develop in the student an appreciation of, and a skill in, the fundamentals of all case work, and in addition the teacher of each particular kind of case work must help the student to make the application of fundamental case work principles to the particular specialty for which he is preparing. While much has been done in developing training in the technique of case work much still remains to be done. The permanent factors in the art of adjusting an individual to his circumstances have not been thoroughly worked out. They are in process of discovery just now. In any art there are so many subtle psychological factors of conduct to be considered which have not yet been standardized or thoroughly worked out by the scientific method that it is difficult to get this material under control for teaching purposes. The two methods thus far developed in the teaching of these factors are the use of the case record in class discussions and the conference with the student on the case which he is handling.

One of the difficulties in this aspect of the technical training is the failure of teachers to connect up the things which the student has learned in his background studies with the training in technique. In the course of time the student may learn to make that connection himself. How much better it would be, however, if the teacher had such a background and had thoroughly thought through the relations between technical social work and such foundation studies as psychology, including psychiatry, biology and sociology, including historical sociology, social psy-

chology, social organization and racial and national traits. Then he could short circuit the processes of making these connections for the student. That must be done, else even the student who has had the proper background studies will find them of little value in his actual social practice. A parallel case in a neighboring field would be the failure of the teacher of journalism to show the application of the writing of good English in the technique of reporting or of writing feature articles, or, to take even an older field, a parallel would be found in the failure of the teacher of engineering to show the student how he can apply the principles he learned in physics and chemistry. Constantly, therefore, in reaching this objective of technical training the teacher must aim at a synthesis of all knowledge hitherto learned in the process of adjusting the individual and the group.

(4) *Training for leadership:* Up to the present time in our training for social work we have been too much engaged in developing social practitioners in the case-work and group fields. This is necessary because unless good case-work is done and the technique of group work is thoroughly taught the whole effort of social readjustment fails. Nevertheless the time has come when this fourth objective in training for social work must be held clearly in view. Everywhere is heard the demand for trained leadership whether it be in our case-working agencies, in recreation, in boys' work, in settlement work, or in community organizations.

The demand for leadership is echoed now and again from the case-work field itself. We hear the cry for better administration of case-work agencies. There is a remarkable paucity of leaders. When it is discovered that a given agency is doing poor case work and the situation is carefully analyzed it usually is found that the person in charge lacks leadership in that particular field. Either he may not know the technique of case-work or he may not understand how to organize and inspire his workers. He may be sadly lacking in the art of training his workers or he may fail in that vision which is necessary to inspire a community to the support of what he is doing or to enlist the effective assistance of laymen. In short he lacks the fundamental training in leadership for the job which he has undertaken.

The same is perhaps even more true of leadership in community organization and administration. That the situation should here be worse than in the ordinary case-working agencies is not surprising in view of the more recent development of such movements. Here again the individuals endowed by nature with capacity for leadership must be found and trained by the best methods discovered by experience. This leader must not only have the capacity of leadership but his knowledge of the whole social field must be thorough so that he understands the functions of other organizations in his community, how they fit into the scheme of things and how they can be used and coördinated to accomplish the large purposes he has in mind.

What has been said indicates the importance of preparing leaders in teaching. No one recognizes this more keenly than the present writer. He is engaged in the business of teaching. He feels keenly his own shortcomings in the field. Yet all of us who are engaged in the profession recognize its almost unlimited possibilities. How wide must be his culture, how broad his sympathies, how analytical his mind, and how deep his understanding of the functions of the various organizations and agencies which make up the complex whole of our social life! The teacher who is training people for social work needs perhaps a better preparation than any other teacher. In addition to profound study of his particular field he must understand by no superficial experience in the field of social work how things actually work. How shall he do his duty by a student if he is not intimately acquainted with the play of the subtle social forces in this complex world of ours? How shall he understand them unless he knows their history? How shall he be able to select from the enormous body of knowledge and speculation which our modern world has made available those elements which have particular bearing upon the problems of the social worker? To be successful he can be no mere book worm and yet he must know what is in the books. On the other hand he must not have received his training only in the university of hard knocks, and yet what that can teach him he must know. Here is a challenge to leadership of the highest order, for must he not know what is to be known and yet have that knowledge organized so that it will be of practical value? He must feel those

intangible forces which have not yet been brought under scientific control and withal he must know how to draw out the capacities of each individual student, inspire him with a passion to know, to see broadly and yet clearly, and to develop in each student the art of bringing to his problems the highest capacity with which he is endowed.

Again in social legislation how much need there is for leadership. What volumes of folly have been produced by ill considered legislation. How short seems the memory of man as to the legislative experiments of other days. Here again training for social work must not forget to prepare leaders. Naturally the executives of our agencies are most interested, and yet how frequently it happens that they are ignorant of the effects of the various laws which have been passed, even in the history of our own country. The Legislative Reference Library furnishes a point of departure for scientific social legislation. Yet up to the present moment it furnishes only a beginning.

Moreover, in research we must train leadership. How frequently in the past have we gone blindly at a problem. How often we have failed first to ascertain the facts about a given situation. How little we know concerning the causative factors of most of our problems. We shall never be able to save waste effort and to prevent expenditures of money and energy in futile schemes until we have trained men to marshal the facts and interpret them for our guidance. Too little of our energy at the present time is given to training social research students. As a consequence our technique is largely experimental, the direction of our energies is dictated by prejudice or groundless enthusiasm, and we wonder why we make no more rapid progress.

In this connection there is needed even more the training of publicity technicians. To be convinced of this one needs only to study the publicity methods of our social agencies. While commercial advertising has become a very important art, social publicity lags far behind. We have not yet discovered how to tell the world convincingly what social work is about. Some few organizations do it fairly well but the great majority pay so little attention to it that the people of their communities do not know what they are about. I am not saying that the methods which have been found successful in commercial advertising can be

adapted to social publicity. In fact I do not know the technique myself. I am convinced, however, that it is high time that social agencies and especially the schools training for social work give some attention to the training of technicians in social publicity.

At the present time, therefore, it is the conviction of the present speaker that four great objectives shine out clearly on the horizon of the schools of professional social work: (1) background studies which enable students to understand how people behave under varying conditions of life. (2) background studies which throw light upon why people behave as they do, (3) technical training and experience which prepare persons naturally endowed to deal successfully with others in helping them to make the adjustments personally so necessary for effective living, and (4) training for leadership in all the various fields of social work. With such training persistently carried on by teachers who have vision, understanding, sympathy and indomitable energy, standards will evolve, and the technique of selecting leadership material and developing it to its highest capacity will come to be realized in greater perfection.

Such objectives involve a challenge to our training schools which they cannot evade. They mean the coördination of knowledge and experience to produce results of the greatest importance to society. They imply vision in us who are engaged in training social workers which may well make us humble. They demand an understanding of the vastly complicated factors at work in society which produce the deepest tragedies on the one hand, and on the other the finest social personalities, which result in maladjustments which destroy lives, and cost money and suffering, and which also give opportunity to talent and genius to develop for the blessing of mankind. They challenge us who are engaged in the task of discovering and developing social engineers to coördinate learning and technique, and focus it upon the problem of skillful organization of personality and social agency for the adjustment of warped or threatened personalities and of social conditions which are warping personalities to unsocial attitudes. They call us to look upon this difficult task of training as the highest kind of social statesmanship.

EUGENICS AND THE SOCIAL GOOD

WARREN S. THOMPSON

OF LATE eugenics is attracting a great deal of attention and is probably due to attract more in the near future. Not only are the biologists becoming more and more sure that breeding from certain groups in the population tends to produce sub-standard groups in perpetuity, but they are also able to point to much evidence indicating that the families in these sub-standard groups often are larger than in the normal groups of the population. Especially is there evidence showing that the professional and business classes as a whole are not reproducing while the sub-standard groups and the immigrants are increasing rather rapidly. It seems natural, therefore, that the biologists should call attention to these facts and urge these upper class people to raise larger families. It is perhaps natural also that many biologists should look upon the processes of natural selection as being nullified by present day social conditions and assume that what appears to be true regarding the relative rates of increase of people in the lowest and highest economic classes is true of the inferior and superior generally.

In arriving at this position, however, two assumptions are made which are not proved and which are open to serious question. They are: (a) that natural selection is nullified by the advent of modern charity and medicine, thus enabling the sub-standard population to multiply with little or no hindrance, and (b) that the superior people in a population can be identified with those who are economically most successful. These together with the belief that the only way to improve mankind's conditions is to breed from the better stock, as thus defined, constitute the three underlying assumptions of the present eugenics vogue.

It is only fair to say, however, that although most biologists are urging very strongly the claims of eugenics to the first place among the means of improving national and race life, yet they are not the most vociferous advocates of eugenics at the present time nor are they those who need the most careful watching. The group which is now pushing eugenics to the fore as the one great need of our social order is the group which may be

called for convenience "the intelligence testers." They believe they have developed new and accurate methods for separating the superior and inferior classes of the population from one another. They purport to tell us easily and with great accuracy who is fit and who is not fit to contribute to the population.

To show that these three propositions are assumptions either palpably false or that are not yet supported by a sufficient body of fact to make them worthy of being made the basis of a great social movement will be the burden of this paper.

The belief that breeding from the superior stock among men is the only way to improve the conditions of human living probably owes its origin to the doctrine of the non-inheritance of acquired characters. It has seemed to many biologists that if acquired characters are not inherited, it must inevitably follow that human nature could only be changed by changing the inborn traits of people. Such a view is based upon a complete misconception of what human nature is and how it came to its present development. Suffice it to say that human nature as we know it in everyday life is by no means a pure product of heredity. Social psychology has shown beyond peradventure that human nature is the product of the interaction of the two complementary factors human heredity and environment. These two factors are not antagonistic or mutually exclusive, but complementary and their product is as much (but no more) a product of the one as of the other. This is all that need be said here on this matter. A failure to appreciate this fact merely means that one has missed the point of the recent developments in social psychology.

Space will not permit of discussing adequately the proposition that natural selection is no longer operative. We may stop to ask, however, what groups do not propagate at all and what groups have the highest death rates? If we answer these questions with all the facts at hand, we will see that natural selection is still killing off the sub-standard people in the population more rapidly than the normal people. E.g. prostitutes and habitual criminals and tramps probably seldom

reproduce themselves and generally have no children at all. The constitutionally weak die earlier than the constitutionally robust and thus leave fewer children than the latter. Inefficients, as a class, fall into the lower wage groups and many studies have shown that infant mortality is closely correlated with wage, varying inversely with the size of the income. The death rate is also in part a function of the degree of education of a group and thus in turn is closely connected with income. These facts are well authenticated and should give pause to those who lightly assume that modern charity and medicine tend to eliminate the health advantages of success. Certainly the well-to-do or the successful as a class are able to protect themselves from many vicissitudes of life which result fatally for the poorer and particularly for the sub-standards.

Without going into more detail enough has been said to show there is at least a presumption that natural selection is still operative in much the same way it has been for ages past and that we cannot brush it aside as a factor no longer at work. However greatly artificial selection or rather selective breeding may be needed we should not minimize the effects of natural selection helping to keep up the quality of the population.

We come now to the consideration of the third of the eugenics assumptions, viz., that we have reasonably adequate methods of selecting the superior people in our population. It is, of course, assumed that the superior people thus selected should be heavy contributors to the next generation and that if they are not—as now seems to be the case—the quality of the population will rapidly deteriorate.

There are two methods of selecting this superior stock: (a) through the use of intelligence tests such as were given to the Army, and (b) through the ascertaining of those having the higher incomes, say the upper 10% or 15% or, what amounts to the same, those who have made a more or less conspicuous success of life from the economic standpoint. We shall discuss these two methods in the order given.

THE INTELLIGENCE TESTS

I find myself wholly unable to accept the view of the intelligence testers that we now have a short-cut method of picking out people of varying

degrees of intelligence. I have but little faith in the trustworthiness of the results of these tests to pick out the people of really superior intellects to say nothing of their fitness to select those people of superior social value. I shall set forth my reasons for lack of faith in the tests as tests of mental ability rather briefly as I am far more interested in discussing the question whether ability to succeed in the present social order is also proof of the possession of the largest amount of social value when one takes a long time view of the processes of population growth.

In the first place, it seems so obvious that the responses needed to secure a high rating in the intelligence tests are dependent in large degree upon the social experience of an individual that I can never cease to wonder how the testers themselves can claim that they are testing inherited traits only or native intelligence as they prefer to call it. Surely when one finds that stenographers and bookkeepers have almost the highest scores of any of the different occupational groups, one may be excused for expressing doubt regarding the value of the tests to select superior ability.

In the second place the people who talk most about the tests seem wilfully to ignore the high correlations found between good social and educational environment and a high score. They interpret this fact as showing that the people who have these favorable environing conditions are superior people and will not admit that there is probably some causal connection between a good environment and ability to pass the tests with a high grade. It certainly seems to me that only a mind already made up as to what it is going to prove by the tests can ignore these correlations.

In the third place supposing that the tests have value in distinguishing people having varying degrees of certain mental qualities is there any good reason to suppose that they indicate the degree of "general intelligence" (if there is such a thing) of different people and thus point out fundamental hereditary differences between them? Only in the case of those of extremely low scores (the clearly sub-normal) does this seem to me to be the case. In other words what is tested is not a fundamental difference of ability entering into all life's relations and determining one's capacity to get along in all these manifold relations but a specialized capacity to fit into particular niches,

e.g. to become an army officer, to succeed in our present educational system or to make a success as a salesman. One can but feel that most of the people who make sweeping claims for these tests as tests of general ability have either never read the full reports of the army tests or have done so with a bias that precluded their giving a fair interpretation to them.

Before leaving this subject, thus inadequately treated, I wish to say that I welcome every study which will enable us to classify men with greater precision and which will show us the limits of an individual's educability but I do not believe that the intelligence tests have gone very far in this direction as yet.

THE SUPERIORITY OF THE ECONOMICALLY SUCCESSFUL

Are the economically successful the real superiors among mankind? I certainly do not believe that we have the proof which will enable us to answer this in the affirmative as is usually done. Just as I believe that the attainment of a high score in the intelligence tests is dependent upon specialized abilities, so I believe that the attainment of economic success is dependent upon possession of specialized abilities.

A brief examination of the more salient mental characteristics of the members of the upper economic classes will serve to make my point clear.

Certainly we would all concede mental alertness of some kind to the economically successful. But the more one sees of their mental processes the more one is inclined to think that it is the mental alertness of the salesman rather than general mental alertness. Such people often, indeed generally, seem to show a lack of sympathetic appreciation of the situations of other people which amounts to obtuseness and are often utterly impervious to the opinions other people have about them. In fact obtuseness and imperviousness of these sorts are important elements in the success of men with the salesman type of mind which at present dominates business. Furthermore many of these men show a surprising inability to understand the complexity of the forces which have brought them to the front if the interviews with them and the articles by them and about them in the *American Magazine* and similar periodicals are any criterion of their ability to think. The result is the cult of the self-made

man who is supposed to have relied solely on his superiority to get to the front whereas it was generally a fortuitous set of circumstances combined with certain specialized capacities which produced the result.

To mental alertness of a specialized kind we must add tenacity of purpose. But whether tenacity of purpose is a quality wholly good is open to question. It may become wholly selfish and as such it may help to increase the imperviousness of an individual to impressions of a general sort and at times it becomes obsession. So that although one who lacks tenacity of purpose is never likely to succeed at anything, one who uses a strong will for purely individual and selfish ends can scarcely be called a superior man.

Adaptability is a third quality of the economically successful. In certain forms this is undoubtedly present in these people in marked degree. But whether it is general adaptability or rather highly specialized is open to question. There are many manifestations of it which lead one to think that it is the specialized adaptability of the salesman to a business situation rather than general adaptability which is displayed in conspicuous degree by this class. For the same man who shows rather remarkable capacity to seize a business opportunity by adapting himself to new and unusual conditions may fail to make other vitally important adaptations. It is a common complaint among engineers and foremen engaged in the actual productive processes that the men above (captains of finance and their satellites) will not allow them to adapt the productive processes to secure the greatest output possible by making use of the best scientific information available. That is the men at the top are often said by their aids to lack the ability to adapt their businesses to the discoveries of science and also in many cases to the mental attitudes of the workers. If this is true of many of the men at the very apex of the social pyramid, it seems reasonable to assume that it is also true of a great proportion of those just beneath them who are aiming at the same kind of success as their captains. Furthermore we know that a great many of the members of the upper economic class do not adapt themselves politically or socially to their surroundings while the majority do not adapt themselves to secure their own survival. The upper economic classes, as a whole, have shown a

lamentable inability to adapt their family life to the modern social order, or what is of equal if not indeed of even greater moment, the lack of ability to adapt the social order to the needs of family life. To fail in this respect is to fail in the most fundamental of all adaptations and when one sees this very general failure in this class, one wonders whether these people are the really superior human beings. This failure seems to prove that the people in the upper economic class, as a whole, possess a type of mind rather easily seduced from following instinctive tendencies calculated to secure survival, while they have not developed the perspective which would make biological success appear at its true value or they have not the will to make a conscious adaptation to secure survival. In any event nature takes no pity on their lack of adaptability and decrees their extinction. It does no good to cite in detail the causes of childless or very small families in this class, it merely accentuates the fact that the supposedly superior people are the ones who are failing most dismally in making the most fundamental of all adaptations; this too in spite of the fact that this class really controls the social order. Are the people who thus fail in the making of these vital adaptations the most fit to carry our civilization on to better things?

One wonders in view of this state of affairs whether the failure to make this adaptation to secure biological success does not indicate that the upper class has not found enough of real value in life to care to perpetuate themselves in their children. Do these people so lack faith in the worthwhileness of life that they do not care to share in the future through their children? People who have passed the stage where reproduction is largely or wholly uncontrolled (involuntary) must not find life worthwhile for themselves and must see but little hope for the future or they would want to participate in it. It is as though they said (unconsciously, of course) that they found the pursuit of pleasure, wealth and fame so strenuous and engrossing and yet of so little value that they were unwilling to help carry the burdens of the future by raising children. Can we safely trust civilization today to those who either will not or cannot think of the future and who consequently do not so plan their lives that they can project them into the future in the persons of their children? It seems to me we show

very poor judgment in so doing and we exhibit a blind faith in the economically superior which they have not yet justified.

To the questions proposed above nature's answer is clear and unequivocal. She says this class is unfit. She can only work with people who at least reproduce themselves. She seems to prefer people who live simply and who reproduce more or less instinctively and who thus help to bear the burden of the future. In the dying off of the upper classes I see one more proof that natural selection is still vigorously at work. It is nature's way to be pitiless in enforcing the penalties of failure in adaptation and we should not rail at her. We should try to get her point of view and adapt ourselves to her demands or step aside and die out gracefully. We may believe that the people who rear moderately large families do so because they know no better; we may call them all kinds of hard names; we may despise them for brutishness and lack of foresight, etc., etc., but they survive and the future belongs to them. We may believe and prove, to our own satisfaction, that a civilization developed by them will be distinctly inferior to ours at present, but if nature prefers it because we will not participate in the future through our children we should find no fault with her. It is in the order of things and cannot be changed except by our own willingness to make the necessary adaptations to secure our biological success.

Another factor in this failure of the upper economic class to make the adaptations necessary to secure survival is the apparent lack of philoprogenitiveness. Whether this is a real hereditary lack of love of offspring or merely a perversion of energy and interest into other channels is impossible to say. I incline to the latter view. If it is the former, however, no power on earth can prevent the dying out of this class. If it is the latter, it rests with this class itself whether it will so change its present habits of action and attitudes of mind regarding family life and the social order out of which these grow that fair sized families will be raised quite generally. There is no doubt that the present social order penalizes the man and woman who raise a fair sized family, especially in the lower and middle income groups of the upper class. Is the upper class which is thus penalized and which at the same time con-

trols the social order willing to so change it that these penalties will be removed? So far this class shows no disposition to make the radical changes in the social order demanded if a healthy family life is to be encouraged. Since this is true, are we justified in supposing that the people in this class are the real superiors among us? Must they not be lacking in certain fundamental social and human qualities since they either ignore or are not aware of these questions which are fundamental to their existence in the future? There is only one way for an upper economic class to prove its superior social value and that is to raise enough children to somewhat more than reproduce itself and to so train them that they will become the leaders of a progressive humanized civilization. One of the marks of such a civilization will be that it makes more definite provision for a healthy family life than our social order does today, particularly, than our commercialized and industrialized cities of today do.

Thus far the argument is to the effect that the criteria that are in the way of being accepted by eugenics as adequate to enable us to select the intellectually superior people in our population are really very defective even for this purpose. These criteria may enable us to select people with certain types of mind, but it is a purely gratuitous assumption to say that these people are the real intellectual superiors of the race. Furthermore the present use being made of these tests by eugenics is leading to the debasing of this study. Eugenics is in process of becoming a propaganda to urge increase of the Nordics because they seem to meet these tests most adequately and because of race bigotry. (Notice I do not say race pride. A certain amount of race pride is legitimate, race bigotry never is legitimate.) It seems to be forgotten that if the tests are in any sense tests of social adaptations as I have argued above, the people who have had longest to make this adaptation (the native born and the older immigrants) would naturally show up better in the results. It is interesting to note in this connection that the very convincing proof of the army tests to the effect that immigrants got a grade closely correlated with their length of stay in the United States is interpreted by most people to mean that the older immigrants of Nordic stock are superior

to the more recent immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. To say the least, it is exceedingly unfortunate that a study as important as eugenics is degenerating from its high estate and in this country is becoming a mere class propaganda. The reasons for this cannot be discussed here.

ARE THE SUPERIOR IN INTELLIGENCE ALSO THE SUPERIOR IN SOCIAL VALUE?

Suppose in spite of the objections raised above we admit that the present mental tests (definite "intelligence tests" and attainment of economic success) are adequate to pick out the intellectually superior people in our population, does it follow that our society would be better off if these people contributed more than their share of children to the next generation? Would we of choice intrust the future of our civilization to the men who have been the recognized economic successes of the last 150 years? Are our leaders in commerce and industry men of such caliber that, as a class, we can safely turn over to them the task of creating a progressively improving social order in which human values are to receive due recognition? Whence have come the ideas and ideals that have really struck the shackles from the bodies and minds of a larger and larger portion of the human race? What do our "captains of finance" stand for today that entitles them to serious consideration when we are looking for leaders to stand for human or social values as opposed to material values? These questions need no answer. We all know that the people accounted the greatest successes today are with few exceptions utterly unfitted to lead us out of the confusion of social and material values in which we have lost our way. We also know that the superficial cult of the intellect now in vogue is merely another method of glorifying the dominant class in our society. It has no scientific basis in fact and its advocates lack capacity to see the inner meaning of the powers with which the average(?) man is endowed.

If one looks about him and observes those who are bent on attaining a success in which their intellectual powers will be recognized, one is inclined to think that the predominance of this quality leads to such abnormal and selfish modes

of life that there is very little chance of real human leaders arising from this class. A great leader must live the common life to the extent that he knows the sentiments and aspirations of the so-called common man and he must be able to feel the throbbing life of the masses of mankind or he will not be able to guide them to the attainment of higher spiritual values. Such also must lesser leaders be if they are to contribute anything of lasting value within their small circles. They must not insulate themselves from the pulsing life of plain people as the supposedly intellectually superior are now doing to such a large extent.

We have a social order today in which the greatest value is set on those qualities which make one a success in business or the professions and we attach but slight value to those qualities which make for a healthy type of family life and which lead to the rearing of fair sized families, i.e., to those qualities making for a fine type of biological success. I believe we overestimate the worth of the former and underestimate that of the latter. Believing this I look with equanimity upon the dying out of a considerable part of the upper economic class in each generation. I believe that there are considerable numbers of people in these classes who would reproduce themselves if they were not seduced by the relative values placed on economic and biological success. But people who are so easily seduced from fundamental natural living may have but little of lasting value to the race in them and consequently

it may be no real loss to mankind that they do not reproduce. If this seems to be passing harsh judgment on them it is done only because I see nature doing likewise and I still have some faith in the power of natural processes to select the people for survival who will be useful to the race in the future.

If this view seems pessimistic, it is only because I am doubtful of the value to the race of people who having had the opportunity to view life in a large way are unwilling to raise fair-sized families or are unwilling to jeopardize their economic security by undertaking to so change the present social order that there will be opportunity for a healthy family life and a reasonable satisfaction of ambition for the majority of mankind.

I cannot say more here. The future belongs to the people who raise children. But at present the upper economic classes are unwilling to participate in the future in this way (the only sure way) and yet are bemoaning the fact that they cannot control the future. One cannot eat one's cake and have it. If we prize a book written, a trip to Europe, expensive dinners, a fortune accumulated, prominent position socially or economically, etc., etc., more than children, we should be willing to let the people who do raise the children determine the future. We should do it gracefully as it ill becomes us to rail at new immigrants and "the lower orders" who instinctively understand nature's requirements better than we of the so-called upper classes.

THE RELATION BETWEEN SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK*

M. J. KARP

I HAVE GIVEN considerable thought, during the last few years, to the possible contribution which sociology can make to social work, and to the opportunities for observation of and experimentation with various methods for the control of human behavior which social work can offer to sociology. Being interested in improving the methods of social work, I am naturally desirous of securing as much help as possible from the social sciences. Sociology seems to me

to be particularly promising for the development of a science of human behavior, and I have been, therefore, genuinely concerned with the relation between sociology and social work. When the subject of this paper was suggested to me I welcomed the opportunity of collecting some of my thoughts and experiences in this regard and setting them down so that I might point out to

* Paper read before the Sociology Club of the University of Chicago.

sociologists and social workers the opportunities for service which they are allowing to slip by them.

To my mind there is a very close and direct relationship between sociology and social work. It is only between sociologists and social workers that there is no relation, unless it be a negative one. The sociologist looks down upon the social worker with a goodly measure of contempt. Even the more kindly disposed sociologists look upon the social workers with a good deal of pity as persons who meddle in other people's affairs, and as persons who do their work by rule of thumb. They consider social work as being a hit or miss, trial and error procedure, without having the standing or dignity of a profession and without being based upon scientific principles. The social workers, on the other hand, look up to sociologists as to people—who live up in the clouds, who clothe the simplest ideas in the most cumbersome language and who hide their ignorance of human nature behind polysyllabic, high sounding, more or less meaningless verbiage. Many social workers of excellent repute and ability have a positive dislike for sociology and sociologists, a dislike which cannot quite be accounted for on the basis of an inferiority complex. In my own experience I have frequently been faced with the loss of what I considered very much worth while programs simply because it appeared as if they were tied up with sociology or sociologists. Just as soon as I would take pains to cover up the connections so that the relationship would not be suspected, they would become entirely acceptable.

In my capacity as executive of one of the largest social agencies in Chicago, I have been forced to recognize the existence of these attitudes and I have given considerable thought to the problem because I could not help but realize how necessary was a rapprochement between these two groups dealing with the same problems. I have admitted quite frankly to myself and to others that, in my judgment, the criticisms of each group against the other are justified to a very considerable degree. It is true that the social worker works by rule of thumb, it is true that his technique is not based on scientific principles and that he is an empiricist. So is it also true that very little that sociology has accumulated can be called science. Very few if any of the sociological

principles have been developed and tested in accordance with scientific method. They are at best a set of hypotheses which no less an authority than Professor Cooley recently called "arm chair philosophy." It seems, then, that a little more humility and tolerance on the part of both groups would be not only justified but eminently helpful to both. I would ask for humility on the part of sociologists because it has been my privilege during the last few years to engage and observe the services of scores of persons who had a fair amount of sociological training, and who, if encouraged outside of their working hours, could recite sociology by "the yard," (some of them did it for several years while at college) they could quote definitions by heart and were quite at home with the sociological concepts both current and obsolete. Nevertheless, when they were faced with actual situations, when they had opportunities to apply some of the theories which they could speak of so glibly, they lost out completely. Not only did they fail in the application of the so-called principles of human nature when the opportunity presented itself, but most of them failed to recognize and identify the situations, the names of which they had studied, and the symptoms of which they could outline if stimulated to do so. Excellent opportunities for observing and recording data on human behavior and relationships indispensable to sociology, were passed by unnoticed. "It is easier to study about human nature than to study it," one graduate student of sociology told me when I pointed out to her opportunities which she had missed. This same student returned to the University to study about human nature in order to avoid the necessity of studying it. There must be something lacking either in the teaching of sociology or in sociology itself, if this is the result of years of study of the subject. The young lawyer is more at home with his client and in the court, the young physician is more at ease in the clinic, the young engineer is more adept in the drafting room, and the teacher is more skillful in the class room than is the social worker just out of college. While it may be argued that sociology courses do not aim at making social workers (and I am not here concerned with such courses of study as do) it will be generally admitted that sociology should give the student a general preparation for observing and analyzing human behavior in sociological terms.

That students in sociology are not so prepared, any supervisor in a case-work agency will gladly bear testimony.

I have urged greater tolerance on the part of social workers for sociology although I have been forced to admit that thus far sociology has not made as much of a contribution to social work as it might. If I were asked what the scornful attitude of the social worker toward sociology and sociologists is due to, I would say that, in my opinion, it is the lack of adequate preparation on the part of sociology students, which lack is observed by the older social workers, that is responsible. The young graduate is frequently so helpless, has so little to give, and is so poorly prepared for the task of observing, directing and controlling human behavior, that the older social worker, who may perhaps not have had that training, decides that she has missed very little. In addition to this, there is comparatively little which sociology has developed that is directly applicable to social work at present. To be sure, there are numerous helpful concepts which sociologists use and which might become fundamental to the practice of social work but thus far no applications of these principles have been worked out. I recall that in the early days of my connection with the organization, I made it known that I would accept only university trained persons as workers. I laid particular stress upon training in sociology and psychology. At first it was very difficult to get persons with such training. Gradually, more and more college trained persons came into the organization. One supervisor, who had not had the advantage of a college education was particularly hostile to this innovation. One day, when she gathered enough courage, she declared that she had expected that these new workers would have a great deal to teach her after having had all these courses in sociology, but that she finds that "they are mere children, and that while they may have been exposed to the scientific consideration of human behavior, it did not take, either because their hides were too thick or because the stuff was too thin."

The social worker who reads the sociological literature and who sees great promise and hope for a more scientific type of social work in the sociological point of view, finds himself in the condition of the thirsty wanderer in the desert who sees a mirage and expects to drink his fill

only to be bitterly disappointed at the frustration of his hopes. And even as the wanderer, whose thirst becomes more keen, frequently despairs after the disappointment, so the social workers turn from sociology in despair and perhaps even in disgust, and seek new techniques which hold out, if less, then, at least, more immediate and definite promise. They turn to psychiatry, although its point of view is much more fatalistic than is consistent with the philosophy of social work, because psychiatry offers something positive: it tells them what to do even if it is only to institutionalize the subject. Psychiatry, based as it is upon the biological sciences, has developed a much more positive and definite approach toward its problems than has sociology. It has an appeal for the social worker, although she may realize its limitations, because it meets the emergency. They turn to psychology because psychology has developed mental tests. True that after knowing what the I. Q. of a given client is, one is not very much further than before; true also that most social workers are very skeptical about the reliability of mental tests; nevertheless, psychology is a haven of refuge for the social worker when it declares a particular client, who has resisted all efforts at guidance or control, as feeble-minded. It is a great help if only because it eases the all too great tension of the social worker who is conscious of her many failures and few successes by declaring the failures as lacking in the mental equipment to become successes.

There are those among sociologists who are not disturbed at this situation. One very prominent sociologist, who is notoriously impatient with social workers, told me, in response to my plea for a better understanding between the two groups, that he did not care anything about it because for every social worker who was hostile to sociology, there are scores of students who seek out the sociologists and are eager to study sociology. I told him that in my humble opinion that is not a very good thing for sociology. What sociology needs is not a large number of students who will accept the present teachings of sociology more or less uncritically, but perhaps a smaller number of students of sociology who will welcome the challenge of interested persons, whether sociologists or social workers, and bend their energies toward developing a science which will be able to meet the challenge.

Such is the present relation of sociologists and social workers, and, incidentally, the relation of sociology to social work. Let us next consider what these relationships can and should be.

I have already said that in my opinion there is a very close relationship between sociology and social work; also that as far as I can see, sociology holds out the greatest promise of any of the social sciences for the development of a scientific basis for social work because a great many of the concepts with which sociology is concerned are directly applicable to social work. That there is a great and urgent need for the realization of these possibilities, all of us who are in social work and who give thought to the problem will admit. Not only is such a development important for social work, but it is essential for the development of sociology itself if it is to become scientific. In fact, the keynote of one of the recent conferences of the American Sociological Society was, as someone has put it facetiously, "How to get Mrs. Jones to the clinic." Thus far, sociology is the product of a few men of pioneer spirit who were dissatisfied with the existing notions about and explanations of human behavior as it manifests itself in group life. They struck out independently and sought to develop a series of explanations which should really explain. The results, at least some of them, are very interesting and promising. However, candor demands that we view these results impartially and critically before we accept them as scientific principles. How many sociological concepts have been so considered? How much of sociology can be said to have been subjected to the tests to which any hypothesis should be subjected before it can be said to be a law? In this respect the social worker's method, which is scoffed at by the sociologist, is superior to the sociologist's because the former has accumulated a number of methods and practices which have been found to work: they are the results of the experiences of hundreds and thousands of workers. The methods which are found not to work are gradually discarded, so that what definite method social work has, can be said to have been tested by experience. True that comparatively very few generalizations have thus far been made in social work, but the material is there ready to be classified for the purpose of deducing such laws and principles as are indicated. This is the inductive

process which is very largely the method of science. With sociology, the process is reversed. First we have some keen observer or analyst who observes and analyzes human behavior as he sees it or reads about it. Next he formulates principles which he thinks govern such behavior, and he writes a book which he may call the "Principles of Human Behavior," or by some other such ambitious title. Some other sociologist may or may not like the formulator of these principles, or he may or may not like the principles themselves, depending upon whether he subscribes to the same or a different school of thought. If he likes the promulgator of the principles and if the principles themselves happen to agree with his own pet notions, he promptly accepts them and recommends the book to his students as collateral reading, if indeed he does not put it on the "Required Reading List." Otherwise, he may either ignore the book or write a review in some journal in which he rejects the so-called principles. But in most instances the case method is not used in either the formulation, confirmation or rejection of the principles. This is, by and large, the method of sociology at the present time. There are some notable exceptions, but there are only enough of them to establish the rule.

That this method of formulating sociological doctrine must change if it is to become a science and if it is to make a real contribution to the knowledge and control of human behavior, goes without saying. But how is this change to come about? The sociologist cannot conceive, formulate, and apply the principles of human nature by himself. Some division of labor is essential if progress is to be made, which will be consistent with the needs and the spirit of the time! In addition to this, the sociologist has not at his command the human material for the necessary study and application. There are few, if any, sociological clinics which will yield the opportunities for study that the medical clinic offers to medical science. Right here is where social work comes in or should come in. The social agencies can become just as important an adjunct to sociology as is the medical clinic to medicine. The social agency could provide the sociologist with an opportunity for studying human nature, such as he can get through no other medium. Not only is the social agency the hopper into which are cast all of the abnormal and pathological

human situations, but it is also in contact with many normal situations, besides being, to a very considerable degree, a reflection of the community as a whole. Here the sociologist would have an opportunity to observe the operation of all the forces at work in human nature as it manifests itself in a social environment. The social agency could also give him the opportunity for checking up on his own and other sociologists' observations as well as for applying the principles which have been formulated. There is no agent or agency that I know of that comes in as intimate contact with human problems as does the social worker unless it be the physician and the priest. In the case of the physician, the emphasis is on the physical, which is but one aspect, and frequently by no means the most important aspect of the problem; in the case of the priest, the emphasis is on the emotional or spiritual, which, too, is only one phase of the human problem; whereas the social worker must treat all phases of the problem, and at the same time be entirely objective. He must perforce consider the problems of the person and the group which he handles, from the standpoint of the physical, the mental, the spiritual, the economic and the social aspects. He must weigh them carefully and evaluate them properly, if the situation is to be adequately handled. Here, in turn, is the opportunity for the sociologist to make his contribution. Because of his removal from the immediate problem, he can retain the objectivity and perspective which would result not only in better work, but which would make possible generalizations which are essential to the development of a science. Such generalizations as have already been made could be exceedingly helpful if only they could be accepted as having been definitely established through scientific procedure.

It may be helpful, in order to make my meaning clear, to mention some of these concepts as well as to point out their possible value to social work and their limitations because of the inadequate knowledge which we have about them at the present time.

The sociologist has developed the concept of the "person" as differentiated from the "individual." I believe that we are indebted to Professors Park and Burgess for the definition of the person as "an individual with status in a

group."¹ To the family case worker, to the worker with boys and girls who present behavior problems, to the community organization workers, and, in fact, to most every kind of social worker, this concept can be of inestimable value. It opens up possibilities for social control which bid fair to revolutionize the procedure in vogue among the various types of social work. And yet, practically nothing has been done to develop the concept so that it might be applied to concrete situations. We can measure the individual, and we can tell with a fair degree of certainty to what extent the individual conforms or does not conform to type. Physical and mental tests have been developed which provide the means for fairly accurate diagnosis, prognosis and treatment of such defects as the individual may suffer from. Can we say the same thing about the person? Most decidedly not!² Nor is the situation likely to improve much in the near future because very little work is being done on this problem which will throw much light on it.

The problem of personality and status is one which the social worker meets at every turn in his road. He faces it not only with regard to his client but also with regard to his board and the members of his community. It seems to be basic to every phase of social work; nevertheless, we know practically nothing about it. Over and over again we meet situations where people will subject themselves to the greatest privations in order not to make their situation known to their neighbors and friends. They shrink from the thought of applying to a social agency because of the investigation which is known to precede any granting of assistance. There are others, on the other hand, who care nothing about investigations and who speak of their most intimate problems with strangers, without the slightest hesitation. The social worker has learned to recognize these types and he classifies them quite readily. He will be on his guard with regard to the latter type because experience has taught him that this type is very easily pauperized. Nevertheless, this type must be handled. What should the method of handling be? What about the type which has an inordinate craving for status? This

¹ Park, Robert E. and Burgess, Ernest W.—Introduction to the Science of Sociology, pp. 56-7.

² Burgess, E. W.—The Study of the Delinquent as a Person, pp. 657-680. *American Journal of Sociology*, Volume XXVIII—May, 1923.

last type will commit social acts in order to obtain status if it cannot obtain it in any other way. From this type come the behavior problems among boys and girls.³ How are they to be handled? To say that they be given group contacts in which they may be able to exercise some form of leadership, or that they be given an opportunity to develop some talent or special ability in order to excel and derive status therefrom, is not sufficient, for what is a normal, and what is an abnormal desire for status? What should be encouraged and what should be discouraged? How is the actual status to be compared with the status which a person is capable of acquiring and which he craves? What is the relation between the loss of status and personal disorganization? These and other questions should be answered by the sociologist if the concept is really to become meaningful and helpful. The formulation of the concept is but the first step in the process. Even as the bacteriologist who isolates the disease germ, studies its characteristics and properties before he develops a specific for it, so must the sociologist isolate and study the factors which operate in a given situation before his formulations can become really worth while.

The concept of attitudes might be named among the sociological concepts which are of great potential value to social workers. Its importance lies in the fact that a proper understanding of attitudes, their origin, nature, and condition of modifiability would make possible the modification of human behavior to an undreamt of extent. One of the clients with whom our organization came in contact offered resistance to all suggestions at improving his condition. He was a learned man and could quote Biblical authority to substantiate his claim on the organization. He was arrogant and haughty and would converse with the social workers only in his own language although he spoke English fairly easily, because he knew that they would be at a disadvantage. He took every opportunity to make the visitors feel inferior to him. He looked upon the organization as a legitimate source of support for himself and his family and resented any suggestion that he do his share in carrying the burden. The matter came to my attention and I took particular pains

to inform myself about the nature of his arguments. When he came to see me at my request, we talked the matter over calmly. His claims that he was not well enough to work were met with the physician's statement of his being in good physical condition. His defense which was by far more important than the claim of physical inability was what he conceived to be our function and duty toward the poor. He cited passages in the Bible which, according to him, made it incumbent upon us to help him. This was the real defense as far as he was concerned, and I knew that once he were shaken in this respect, he would gradually capitulate. I was prepared, therefore, to cite scripture in an equally convincing fashion to the end that we had no responsibility in his case. One passage struck him with particular force. I quoted a passage from Exodus in which the Bible admonishes us to help only when those who need help put forth the proper efforts on their own behalf. While this interview did not change him completely, he became a much easier man to deal with, and subsequently went to work. His attitude toward the organization and toward his own responsibility for the support of his family changed very considerably.

The case which I just cited is by no means an isolated instance. When all is said and done, social workers, and indeed most persons who work with human beings, are concerned with the problem of attitudes. And yet what do we know about attitudes? Thus far, it is only a word, an idea, but no more. How are attitudes formed? How may they be modified? To what degree is change of attitudes possible, and under what conditions is such change desirable? These and other questions require study and experimentation before the concept can become the help which it might be. Such answers as have been given to some of these questions thus far are very largely only opinions.⁴ We can hardly find fault with the social workers if they are reluctant to accept opinions when they should have facts based on scientific procedure. Would not sociology gain a great deal by challenging some of these opinions and verifying or refuting them by experiment and observation? If this were to become the method of sociology, where could it find a wider field than in social work? Where could it find a greater

³ Burgess, E. W. *Op. cit.*

⁴ Thomas, W. I. and Znaniecki, F.—*The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*—Vol. I, pp. 1-86, Vol. III, 5-81.

opportunity for observation than in social work? And where could it find a more interested and devoted co-worker than in the social worker?

I recall that when I first learned about Thomas' theory of the fundamental wishes I was greatly impressed with what I thought to be a tremendously important contribution to the explanation of human behavior. It seemed to me at that time, and I still think so now, that the notion of the fundamental wish, as Thomas conceived it, might become the key to behavior problems. I am not concerned much with whether there are four wishes or three or sixteen. Nor do I care particularly much whether there are major or minor wishes and what they are, so long as the concept remains an abstract idea. What seems to me to be of much greater importance at this time is the need for some definite knowledge concerning the nature and relation of these wishes (regardless of how many there be) and personality types. Are the wishes really fundamental? If so, what is their normal and what is their abnormal manifestation? What is the relation between wish fulfillment and personality development? Is it normal to have all four wishes in an equal degree, or should certain wishes be more intense than others? A number of years have elapsed since Thomas first formulated this concept.⁵ Nevertheless, practically no work has been done to either verify or definitely refute them. I venture to say that some very reputable sociologists have not even heard of them, much less accept them. Each school of sociology has its own notions and theories and even its own vocabulary very largely, so that one's brand of sociology is known by the concepts which he uses. Is it any wonder that the outside world takes sociology with a grain of salt?

The concept of assimilation as it applies to Americanization work is of exceeding importance. In fact its importance can hardly be overestimated, nevertheless the sociologists have thus far been content with talking about it. Comparatively little work of a fundamental nature has as yet been done in this field although the problems of immigration, Americanization, and assimilation are among the most important problems which the American people face. What group is there

that could be so helpful in the formulation of a sound, rational policy with regard to immigration as the sociologists if they really knew what the assimilation process is? Instead of an immigration policy based on scientific principles we have a policy based on emotionalism; instead of developing a scientific method for adjusting the immigrant to American life, we use a hit or miss method which is responsible for a great deal of maladjustment and personal disorganization.

One immigrant family of our acquaintance underwent a process of disorganization which we could not prevent largely because we did not know how to deal with it. The family consisted of a father, mother, and six children, ranging from sixteen to six years of age. The father had been well-to-do in Europe, was cultured and had occupied an enviable position in his community. With his arrival in this country, his situation changed completely. He found himself a stranger in a strange land; he did not know the language of the country, he was ignorant of the customs and could not adjust himself to the modes of life which he saw all about him. His friends urged him to become "Americanized" by learning English. This was rather difficult for him because of the economic problems which he had to face in the adjustment. What troubled him more than anything else was the change which he observed in his older children. They acquired the language and manners of the new land with greater ease than did their father. Gradually they began looking upon him as inferior to them. His former authority over his children was being undermined, his status in the home was no longer what it was in the old country. He saw his children drift away from him, saw them abandon the life of their forefathers for something which to him had very little value and content. The teacher of the "Americanization class" which he finally attended did not sympathize with him when he confided his troubles to her. She only saw an effort on the part of the father to interfere with the assimilation of his children. She admonished him to apply himself more assiduously to the task of becoming an American so that he might keep pace with his children. The pace was too fast for him. He became resentful, morose, quarrelsome. There was no peace at home. He could not and would not become accustomed to the role which was being forced upon him. The home which

⁵ Thomas, W. I. *The Persistence of Primary Group Norms in Present-Day Society*. Published in Jennings, Watson, Meyer, and Thomas, "Suggestions of Modern Science Concerning Education."

had always been peaceful became unbearable, the children became unruly and did not yield to control. The social agency which was called in considered the man to be at fault. He was thought to be unreasonable and stubborn. His insistence upon conformity to the customs and traditions of his people was deprecated by the social worker. The children broke away from the home and the family became disorganized in spite of the efforts of the social worker.

What happened to this family happens to hundreds and thousands of immigrant families. Individual and group disorganization is going on all about us and we are powerless to prevent it because we have not developed as yet a very clear understanding of the nature of the process of Americanization, nor do we know as yet precisely what its dangers are. To be sure a great deal has been written on this subject and sociologists have been concerned with it, but despite the most excellent studies in immigrant adjustment⁶ we are still working in the dark to a very considerable extent.

For years social workers in the field of Americanization have been working toward making Americans out of foreigners. For a long time they believed that all that was necessary to make the foreigner a full fledged American was to teach him the English language, American history, the elementary principles of Civil Government, and to encourage him to become naturalized. What was worse, was their setting out to estrange the foreigner from his former modes of life and thought; they encouraged him to acquire American manners and dress, thinking that they were speeding up the process of assimilation. The so-called "hundred percent Americans" assumed that the foreigner had little to give up, and that he should be delighted with and thankful for the opportunity to become an American. They were disappointed when they found that the foreigner did not quite respond in that manner. He was not so ready as they expected him to be, to forswear old allegiances. It seemed as if there were an adherence to traditions, sentiments and memories which the American thought quite inferior, but which to the foreigner were part of him, and with which he was reluctant to part. Gradually the more thoughtful of the American-

ization workers realized that those foreigners who abandoned their former modes of life most readily, were by no means the best of their respective groups, and that a too rapid change seemed to go hand in hand with personal disorganization.

Here was a problem that was a challenge and which could not be ignored. They turned to the Carnegie Foundation for help and the series of Americanization studies undertaken and later published by the Foundation was the result. Sociologists rose to the occasion and made a genuine contribution in this series. A great deal of good was accomplished because the studies indicated the need for a modification of the old Americanization method. Americanization workers responded whole-heartedly. Under the guidance of sociology they began to see that the foreigner was not always as poor culturally as they had assumed. Also, that those seemed to be desirable Americans who had group loyalties. Furthermore, they began to recognize that it was not to the best interests of either America or the foreigners that Americans be made over-night. The concept of assimilation began to take on deeper meaning. Americanization came to be looked upon as a process which required giving as well as taking on the part of the foreigners. Gradually, also, it became apparent that Americanization was a reciprocal process and that the American had a great deal to gain from the cultures of older peoples. Americanization programs were modified to a very considerable extent. Settlements began to encourage the people whom they endeavored to serve to celebrate their own holidays as well as the American holidays. American ideals and institutions are presented and explained to them in the light of their own ideals and institutions with which they are familiar. The factory method of Americanization is giving way to the educational method; tolerance is gradually replacing intolerance; mutual trust and confidence is displacing distrust; and attitudes are being developed which are bound to result in the foreigner sharing the sentiments and memories of the American people which sociology tells us is essential to real assimilation.⁷ While it is true that the change in Americanization work seems to be decidedly for the better, nevertheless, the new

⁶ Park, Robert E. and Miller, Herbert A.—*Old World Traits Transplanted*. Thomas and Znaniecki—*Op. cit.*

⁷ Park, Robert E. and Burgess, E. W. *Op. cit.*, pp. 734-774.

method, like the old, is still based very largely on a trial and error procedure. We do not know what the proper rate of Americanization is, nor do we know anything of the varying degrees of susceptibility to American ideals which the different immigrant groups possess. Is it too much to ask of the science of sociology to study this problem further and to develop a series of norms which the practitioner could use as a guide in his work? Is not the development of norms a legitimate problem for science?

If only we had the means to observe how the new method is working out, how it is effecting those whom it is to serve; if there were a means of exchanging experience between the Americanization worker and the sociologist, who should have the facilities for evaluating such information gathered and presented to him by the social worker, we should be able to check up on ourselves much more frequently and accurately than we now do, and we would be saved the mistakes and waste which now are so large a part of all social work programs. The difficulty lies in the fact that there is not at the present time the conscious collaboration between the sociologist and the social worker. Also, that the social worker cannot afford to be quite frank and tell of his failures because he is likely to lose the public's confidence and support. Nor is the admission of his failures likely to do him very much good because the sociologist has not as yet worked out the necessary technique which would enable the social worker to discover the reasons for the failure, and suggest the needed remedy.

Other concepts might be mentioned which have great potential value for those who are concerned

with human beings and their inter-relationships. Enough has been said, however, to present my thesis, namely that sociology has thus far done very little except formulate interesting theories, which may, or may not be sound and that little or no work of a reliable nature has been done to prove or disprove most of these theories thus far. Also that sociology needs and should have the coöperation of social work in its labors because the two are really complementary. Social work needs sociology as it needs the other social sciences because it is too close to its work to be able to view its results from the proper perspective. Sociology on the other hand, needs social work because the latter could provide it with the material for experimentation and could apply its findings to the treatment and control of human behavior which must be, in the long run, its *raison-d'être*.

I am one of those who look with a great deal of hope and expectation toward sociology. I believe that it has a great contribution to make and I am anxious that it begin to make its contribution as soon as possible because I see a great need for a clearer understanding about the problems of human nature. I am, however, firmly of the conviction that sociology will have to change its method before it can make its contribution. The task of sociology is big, too big for its limited means. A closer and more harmonious relationship with social work and the other allied fields would, in my humble judgment, go a long way toward bringing its goal, of becoming the science of human behavior, nearer to realization.

THE SPIRIT OF REVOLT IN CURRENT FICTION

JULIA COLLIER HARRIS

THE distinguishing features of the novel of today in America, as contrasted with that of a generation ago, seem to me to be two: first, a wider variety in subject matter and, second, a closer examination of things as they are, with a corresponding expression of restlessness or actual revolt against the present order.

A contemporary English fictionist has something interesting to say on this recurrent overhauling of ideals which ultimately makes itself felt in the literature, art and music of a people:

"Every era grows old and weary, and it is necessary that its ideas, upon which its form of civilization depends, should be reshaped for the bet-

terment of the world. Just now science, religion, politics, education are being jumbled up and tumbled about so that out of old material new forms and better may be shaped. We grow into each new era slowly, experimenting with many ideas, shaping things this way and that, until the world arrives at a tolerably satisfactory civilization."

This expression of revolt in literature is more or less obvious to all. That art and music are at present in the same state of flux is not so patent, though equally true. The departure from old standards in the fine arts is illustrated by the work of the cubists, post-impressionists and futurists, and by innovations in musical structure in the compositions of such high-ranking men as Debussy, Stravinsky, Ornstein and Schonberg.

The public is by nature opposed to new ideas. It likes to rest comfortably in old ones, just as it relishes the negligee of old shoes and old corsets. Maurice Hewlett accused Anglo-Saxons of being the laziest people in the world, intellectually. It amused him to see the amount of trouble they were willing to take to avoid thinking, "for," he said, "thinking is to them a disturbing and distressing process."

It is not surprising, therefore, that there has been a popular hue and cry raised in America and England against recent manifestations of revolt in literature and the arts, since any such movements tend to wrench the mind out of its old, easy grooves of thought. Nevertheless, sociologists recognize in the questioning of outworn ideals a healthy symptom, one which indicates vitality of the mental processes; and they are confident that as a result of it are bound to come to birth interesting and inspiring works of talent, if not of genius.

Some of the questions agitating the minds of American fictionists today and handled without reserve in their novels and short stories are feminism and its manifestations, marriage and divorce problems, the revolt of youth, and the rise of industrialism with its accompanying conflicts between capital and labor. These subjects have become as vital and interesting to the writer of fiction as to the student of social science; indeed, no novelist of today can hope to stand in the first rank unless he is to some extent familiar with the principles of economics, psychology and

sociology; which, after all, means merely that he must have an up-to-date cultural background.

Of course, that reader who turns to the novel as the "tired business man" turns to a cocktail or a vaudeville performance, in an effort to escape from the boredom which is the natural result of his highly specialized life, will resent the intrusion of ideas into fiction and will prefer those rosy pictures of existence, spiced with mystery, "sex appeal," or impossible romance, such as are offered in abundance by a host of fourth-rate writers whose output swamps the pages of magazines.

This type of reader is in hearty accord with the activities of the would-be censors of fiction, drama and the fine arts, that tribe of uncultivated bigots who are constantly mistaking clear-thinking, courage of conviction and a love of pure beauty for anarchy and license.

Happily there is another class of readers which is steadily increasing and to these, realizing as they do the national menace of hypocrisy, fanaticism and mental indolence, the development of a school of writers whose object is quite the reverse of a desire to soothe and flatter, is an encouraging symptom. For there is no instrument of social reform more powerful than a novel or a play by a writer of intellectual honesty and first-rate artistry.

Among the number of American writers whose loyalty to their standards and convictions makes them unwilling to capitulate to a love of banalities in the mass of readers are such outstanding figures as Theodore Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson, Edgar Lee Masters, James Branch Cabell, Sinclair Lewis, Robert Herrick, Willa Cather, Zona Gale and Eugene O'Neill.

To refer briefly to the especial contributions which some of the foregoing group have made to current fiction: of Dreiser, who has enjoyed an established reputation for a long time,—a reputation which counts for something in other countries as well as here,—it is enough to say that he is regarded by many as the outstanding figure in American literature today. He has handled in his novels all the themes that agitate the minds and hearts of thoughtful persons; and without any graces of style has captured the attention and held the admiration of a host of followers. Nor has he borrowed anything from the Europeans; he is wholly American.

Sherwood Anderson is, in my opinion, the most talented of the younger school. Of his *Marching Men* Francis Hackett says:

"The chief fact about it is its apprehension of the great fictional theme of our generation, industrial America. Because the subject is barbarous, anarchic, brutal, it is not easy for its story to be told. But the restless vitality of the thing itself is beginning to be felt, through layers of professorial censorship. Harsh voices, wild tongues of fire, ominous, multitudinous mutterings, are at last striving up our horizon. Where *Marching Men* succeeds is in thrusting up the greater American realities before us, seen as by a workingman himself."

Of the romantic essence of this form of realism the same critic says:

"In *Windy Macpherson's Son* Anderson has made the merits of the small town his own, its stridencies and heart-hungers. Out of the slag-heap he has extracted a veracious novel. By such verity and by the verity of the spirit that flows through it, *Windy Macpherson's Son* is romantic as all life is romantic, even the one-eyed Cyclopean life of monied success."

This same novel has been called "a novel of the meaning of life," because in it the author has not been content merely to tell a story, but has sought to express "those long thoughts which so enamor the young writer, which so often break in the weaving like a gossamer too thin to be spun."

It is Anderson's skill and beauty of expression in giving substance to those "long thoughts" which more than anything else make him unique—those unexpressed yearnings that lie hidden in the souls of most of us: the longing for spiritual companionship; the dread of the loneliness of life; the craving for an indefinable beauty to soften the aspects of hard reality.

Edgar Lee Masters and Robert Herrick deal with the revolt against the accepted social codes, particularly as regards love between the sexes. Neither of these writers flinches before the sordid conflicts and contradictions arising in the lives of men and women through their efforts to escape spiritual crippling under the rigid code that governs sex relations in Anglo-Saxon countries. The situations arising out of all such maladjustments these novelists handle with directness and with

an irony which may not soothe the reader but which at least makes him think. Masters' two *Spoon River* volumes exhibit his special talent in all of its phases and approach in poetic significance Walt Whitman's "Leaves of Grass."

If we admit that the code which at present governs the relations of the sexes is far from perfect, and we must admit it if we are honest with ourselves, we should be willing to follow the analyses and interrogations of such writers as Dreiser, Masters and Herrick, and try to open our minds to the possibility of renovating it. Certainly, with more of justice and comradeship and less of gallantry and parasitism in the relations between men and women it might some day be possible to realize the vision of Olive Schreiner, who portrays in her *Dreams* a land "where walked brave men and women, hand in hand,—who looked into each other's eyes and were not afraid."

A revolt against the narrowness, bigotry and spiritual dry-rot of small-town life is registered in the novels of Zona Gale and Sinclair Lewis. The former has developed not only a sound psychological sense but a picturesque, individual style, which, by means of the fewest possible words, conveys fine gradations of meaning. The latter, because of his photographic methods, ranks below Miss Gale as an artist. He takes snapshots of the small-town scene and small-town type, turns his material deftly into a composite representation and labels it life. This questionable psychology results in a portrayal of existence in uninspiring communities as a dun-colored waste, without high-lights and uneven spaces. There is no town in the world quite like Gopher Prairie because human nature is nowhere all of a piece. Even in the midst of such ugliness and sordidness as this town offers, there are bound to be some natures in which the spark of aspiration remains alive, and some souls that live by the creed of tolerance and sympathy.

That Willa Cather makes this fact plain in her stories of crude Nebraska communities proves her superior imaginative quality as well as her innate kindness. It is a fine talent that enables this writer to uncover the aspirations and gropings of inarticulate souls, such as the mother and son in her *One of Ours*. That she, like Sherwood Anderson, succeeds in this delicate undertaking is

due not only to a finished sense of values but to a real "neighbor knowledge," as Uncle Remus puts it, or, as we would say, to social sympathy.

However, in spite of the obvious limitations of the author of *Main Street* and *Babbitt*, high praise is due him for his priceless ability to pierce our national delusions with the shafts of ridicule. He values at precisely their true worth qualities worshipped by the great American public—"success," "efficiency," "pep" and all the other fifty-seven varieties of bunk so dear to the hearts of the majority. We laugh at Babbitt, the robustious business man,—how can we help it? But as a dominant type in modern life he is not comic at all; he is, on the contrary, the symbol of our national vanity and complacency, and we have no reason to be proud of the standards which produce him.

Another writer of the new school, a Southern man, by the way, who has handled the theme of American business in a way which though satirical is full of good nature, is W. E. Woodward. In his *Bunk and Lottery* he depicts the rotarians at work and at play, lays bare with shrewdness and social understanding some of the most objectionable of our national tendencies, and reveals the destructiveness of ideals which commonly parade in fiction under the deceptive garb of the amiable sheep.

It is probable that H. G. Wells paved the way for these bold, realistic portrayals of "big business" in his *Tono-Bungay*, that vivid and authentic picture of the reactions of a gifted and sensitive young man to the callous methods of modern commercial life. Hackett defines Wells as "the new type, cultured polytechnically; one who tries everything on his intelligence, who strides into the closed chambers of the soul where the terrible operations of life are committed but where the gentleman is not serious artist enough to enter."

This definition applies equally to such writers as Lewis and Woodward who delight to examine the American scene with merciless, appraising eyes. Indeed, all the writers mentioned have this in common with such fictionists as Samuel Butler, Shaw and Wells: they attempt to trans-value all values, having found that "romance was unrom-

antic and religion, unreligious," and, we might add, that business is encrusted with "bunk."

Even in the handling of sentiment the best modernists are beginning to work somewhat in the manner of the social scientist. Frank Swinnerton, author of *Nocturne* and *Coquette*, puts it deftly when he says that he hopes to see the element of love occupy less of the novelist's horizon as writers concentrate more upon career and life outside the few months of "amorous ecstasy."

Not that Mr. Swinnerton sneers at love,—far from it. He merely thinks "a greater unity will be achieved if love can be regarded as an element in the lives of the characters, and not as their justification." Our more thoughtful American novelists seem to be in agreement with this theory, and indeed it is easily seen that romance is better served by anchoring the master passion in the midst of the sea of life, where it cannot escape contact with all the experiences that ebb and flow from birth to death.

I have referred to the large part played by the revolt of youth in current American fiction. Two young writers who have handled this theme with considerable ability are Scott Fitzgerald and Stephen Benet. Their novels deal mainly with reckless, restless young persons who are guilty of glaring excesses in their effort to get away from the meagre program of life offered them by their elders.

Of course much of this sensationalism of action is pure bravado and the overflow of animal spirits no longer held in check by good breeding and a consideration for the rights of others. Our novelists seem to think that it is wiser not to take the antics of these young animals too seriously, since waves of recklessness have always followed in the wake of war or other great social upheavals.

As a sympathetic observer I am bound to admit that both Benet and Fitzgerald have been fairly accurate in their pictures of the "younger set"; however, I am not moved to hysterical censoriousness by their revelations. Rather am I surprised that shocked and bewildered parents fail to sit down in earnest conclave and try to get at the root of their young people's rebellious behavior.

Wise men and women of Europe are trying to find a reason for this universal restlessness of the young and there is a widespread "Youth Movement" on the continent which seeks to lead youth into more interesting and vital paths; to educate adolescents in a way that will make them feel an obligation toward life and an interest in the better things of life.

In short, the aim will be to help them find absorbing work, joyous recreation and individual development to replace that futile, barren, existence often forced upon them by the type of parents who measure a girl's success by her "popularity" and her ability to "catch beaux" and finally a husband, rather than by her power to create useful and beautiful things, to hold a "job," or to become the wise and loving mother of children.

The late Dr. G. Stanley Hall was, at the time of his death, gathering and assorting all available material on the Youth Movement. In one of his letters to the writer he says on this topic:

The hope of the world seems to me to lie largely in this worldwide Youth Movement. It would seem that students in every part of the world, least of all, however, in prosperous America, are in conscious and rather unconscious revolt against the older generation, which has so beclouded their future; and are everywhere seeking new ways which they want very badly, but do not see or agree about.

Dr. Hall, having given his life to the teaching of young people and to a study of their needs, added wisdom to knowledge. That such a man devoted his declining years to the effort of enhancing youth, with a heart and mind full of sympathy for youth's restfulness, is a spectacle which causes one to ponder the general impatience toward youth's revolt.

This word "revolt" is one which too often throws the mind into a state of antagonism and disapproval, and since it has been largely the refrain of my theme it may be well to recall that most of the world's great men and women have been, in some sense, in revolt against their age. Inevitably their rebellion has expressed itself either in intellectual or aesthetic experiments or in a departure from current standards of ethics.

The history of mankind offers full proof that it is largely through just such revolt and the readjustment of standards following in its train that the world is furnished with new and vital ideals of conduct and craftsmanship to take the place of those that are false or outworn. Therefore the spirit of revolt in present day letters points encouragingly to the fact that creative talent in this country is alive to most of the problems that engage the attention of the sociologist, and like the latter, is ardently seeking after new and healthier and more beautiful standards.

ESSAYS IN THE ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

I. SOCIETAL EVOLUTION

ARTHUR W. CALHOUN

THE FIELD of social sciences is at present in very unpromising condition. The war period has begotten a reluctance to come to grips with reality, and most of what is being done by the social scientists is casual, trivial, and perfunctory. Propagandists know how to be definite, comprehensive, and challenging, while sociologists and economists shrink from the assumption of leadership and consume their energies in allegedly "practical" pettifoggery.

It is of course to be recognized that an infinite amount of painstaking research into specific problems and a limitless accumulation of accu-

rate measurements of social facts are necessary for the proper development of sociology. It is acknowledged that many students are earnestly endeavoring to meet such needs. There is reason to fear, however, that much of the study going on is circumscribed in outlook and minimized in value by reason of the lack of large inclusive hypotheses or standards of reference.

The author is convinced that a great service can be rendered at the present moment by setting forth in the most complete and intelligible way,

This is the first of a series of articles by Professor Calhoun on the economic interpretation of history.

as a theory for further investigation, the economic interpretation of history, which has hitherto received no adequate treatment in the English language. It is not as an essay in dogmatism but as the propounding of a hypothesis that may conceivably develop into a law that the present study is offered.

The theory of biologic evolution carries us up to the point where the structure of the human body became substantially fixed, not by reason of perfect organic adaptation to the environment, but because the parallel development of the mind had reached the point where the invention of tools was able to supersede the previous adaption by structural change. The extension of the body by means of implements amounted to an extension of personality, so that the whole system of capital goods was added to the physiological organism as the physical basis of mind and morals. Thereafter the factor of change in human affairs was not biologic evolution but technical (including institutional) evolution. The tool changed continually while the body remained fixed, and organic evolution gave place to societal evolution.

The general presumptions of the evolutionary theory carry over, of course, unchanged from the organic field to the processes of society. The general trend of development is naturally in correspondence with the requirements of the mundane environment. The push of life tends to extend in every direction. Variations in ideation, sentiment, activity, custom, institution, social structure, are put to the test by the requirements of the material world in which we live and of the system of livelihood which mediates between man and nature. There goes on among these social elements a struggle for existence and predominance, the resultant of which is the path of civilization. The process of organic evolution furnishes a whole equipment of categories which are capable of being legitimately applied to the interpretation of social evolution.

The foregoing considerations constitute an approach to the doctrine of the economic interpretation of history as an account of the main trend of societal evolution but not as an explanation of all the sporadic variations in social institutions and standards that may have occurred along the line. Just as the doctrine of biologic evolution

does not have to account for every "chance" deviation from what would be expected of heredity, and is not weakened by the occurrence of misfits, so the economic theory of societal evolution is not vitiated by the occurrence of phenomena out of harmony with the economic substratum of life and consequently doomed to extinction. In both fields it is of course desirable to push vigorously research into the origins of variations and mutations. Until such matters are cleared up, the evolutionary theory is not complete in either field. All that can be demanded at present, however, is a working hypothesis that will serve to account for more of the facts of evolution than will any other principle.

It should be obvious, also, that the economic interpretation of history needs be no more "materialistic" than is the biological interpretation of man. Social change is of course not an absolutely mechanical resultant of economic evolution in the sense of occurring without intervention of thought processes. Men more or less voluntarily accept a new mode of production as a better means of acting themselves out, the mental development paralleling the objective development as in the case of biologic evolution. There follows an inevitable readjustment of other life activities in the partly conscious effort for a restoration of equilibrium. Life has to fit, in both material and mental aspects, the possibilities of maintaining it and its interests. Thus there is room to allow for the psychological element in civilization,—for Buckle's "measure of civilization"—"the triumph of mind over external agents," without accepting any metaphysical theory about the unique priority of thought or any superficial notion that social development is the fruit of clear ideation. In the light of modern psychology it is necessary to reduce the amount of rationality presumed in the process of social evolution and to account for the influence of the material factor in other terms than the "calculation of the main chance."

If the general lines of the foregoing explanation be accepted, it will follow that societal evolution since the birth of humankind is not explicable in terms of biological and psychological elements inherent in human nature inasmuch as these have remained virtually constant since long before the dawn of history, but must be sought in terms of the material equipment developed by the race

and of the cultural qualities and forms associated therewith, all unfolding and functioning on the background of an exacting material environment which presides over the whole course of events just as in the era of organic evolution. It follows, too, that no matter how exclusive may be a sociologist's attention to the psychic elements in culture, he can no more explain civilization in psychological terms than he can explain mind in psychological terms. He must revert in each instance to the material correlate, in the one instance mainly to economics as in the other to physiology. If culture ever seems to float in the air without correspondence to the material circumstances of life, the trouble may simply be due to our inability to appraise the situation in its real significance. We can be pretty sure that there is always a material correlation for every item of social development, however erratic and matter-of-chance the incident may seem. The antecedent condition may not necessarily be always economic, but the fate of the innovation depends in the long run on the selection exercised by the system of livelihood, which in modern life, especially, constitutes the main link between nature and man. Such is the presumption of the economic interpretation.

In the following discussion of economic factors and general social interests the whole evolutionary concept as herein developed is to be held in mind. It is not without significance that Marx arrived at a full expression of the economic interpretation at the same time as Darwin brought out his epochal discovery. "As Darwin discovered the law of evolution of organic nature, so did Marx the evolutionary law of human history." The two doctrines are identical in principle, inasmuch as they set forth the struggle for existence and the principle of selection as the prime elements in evolution, the one as applied to evolution of man, the other as applied to the evolution of civilization. As the problem of livelihood and survival shaped body and mind, the one parallel to the other, so it shaped technique and culture, the one parallel to the other. Expressed in this form, the economic interpretation would seem to be at least a hypothesis capable of, and worthy of, exhaustive investigation.

Such a searching analysis is required by reason of the fact that, as a polemic dogma the doctrine

has developed a baffling elusiveness that defies easy definition. Only by a process of elimination and rejection can the formula be held within tangible and practicable bounds of treatment.

In the first place "economic determinism," as the theory is sometimes styled, does not signify, as some seem to assume, that every item in individual behavior can be accounted for by reference to an antecedent economic factor as sole or decisive determinant. The economic interpretation does not make "man flutter into the world as the Lockean 'white paper'." Moreover social laws are laws of mass phenomena and can not arrogate to themselves omniscience as to the functioning of the individual life. It is an illegitimate though not uncommon perversion of the economic interpretation to stretch it beyond the sphere that social generalization can cover. Not that the events of individual life are uncaused or that they may not in reality answer to precise categories of causation, nor that the occurrences in the social whole come to pass save through the channels of individual lives, but that individual behavior falls outside the field of social science save as it manifests characteristics common to other instances and so capable of serving as data for generalization, or as correlation with some social phenomenon is ascertainable. On the latter score, the biologic interpretation of history in terms of decisive individuals is to be examined, but as yet no evidence has been presented that would warrant the assumption that any individual can create a crucial difference in the general stream of evolution.

Secondly, it is unnecessary to prove that all social phenomena correspond to the economic foundations of society. Here again there can be no thought of questioning the universality of causation or of supposing that anything happens by chance, but the stream of life has many eddies, and just as variations of many degrees may occur in the course of biologic evolution without corresponding to the conditions of livelihood and survival, so erratic social conceptions and usages may arise from perfectly natural, though perhaps indeterminate, causation, and for a time endure even though not in sufficient correspondence to economic exigencies to prevail or even to persist. Such sportive variations may or may not run back to earlier economic antecedents, but they

have, in any case, no power to refute the economic interpretation. It is not necessary to take account in this connection of instances where social institutions correlated with one economic stage linger into another epoch after their basis is gone. The reference is merely to "sports," to sporadic aberrancies that do not fit into the general scheme of things. Doubtless some of the puzzling cases invoked against the economic interpretation would fall into this category of unfortunate variations incapable of survival but not diverting the main stream. No interpretation of social evolution can be required to account for anything except the general trend of civilization. What happens on the side lines is incidental and of no account for the main story. Moreover in the larger current itself there is often a considerable margin of tolerance of driftwood—of things inconsequential, so that even here there is no occasion for the student to be disconcerted by lack of absolute strait-jacket uniformity.

Likewise we must reject any absolutism that would essay to reduce to immediate economic concatenation all mass phenomena belonging to the main current of evolution. Thus we may see peoples in the grip of a hysterical patriotism that has no reference to present economic requisites but is a reverberation of ancestral struggles over the primitive food supply, kept alive in part in the depths of the folk-soul, whence it may well up mechanically when the appropriate key is touched, but nourished largely through the deliberate efforts of sentimentalists who have no economic logic for their ideals. Inertia of social circumstances prevents economic alteration from completely revolutionizing the existing order. Many blindly emotional reactions surge up out of the lower levels of the collective personality in direct contravention of the logic of present economic circumstances and needs. They do not, however, vitiate the economic interpretation, for it is not concerned with the immediacy of the economic correlation; moreover it can fall back on the fact that any such discrepancies from immediate economic foundations are either peripheral and unessential elements in the scheme of things, or else are doomed to disappear unless an economic shift provides for them the right correspondence with reality.

The task of definition is, moreover, simplified by the fact that the real doctrine of economic interpretation in no sense excludes a recognition of non-economic factors, but merely asserts either that they do not bulk large enough to disturb the theory as a safe general principle of social development, or that, traced back to a more or less remote past they will be found to derive from economic origins. It is not yet time to demand quantitative ratios between the weights of economic and non-economic factors among the immediate antecedents or accompaniments of social phenomena, but this lack of quantitative comparisons is not especially important at the present stage of sociological method, particularly if the significant non-economic elements can be traced back to earlier economic factors.

If, however, we posit the economic interpretation as a theory of social determinism, it is necessary to ascertain in what sense determinism is alleged of human activity. Marx rendered a great service in bringing attention to the unconscious—the material—element in human history. Before the modern psychology gained ascendancy, it was not commonly understood how complex and deep-seated are the springs of life and how impossible it is to explain human affairs in terms of intellect, deliberation, and rational activity, or even in terms of conscious motive. Man was conceived as shrewd and calculating. The blindly instinctive basis of conduct, anchored to the past rather than framed with regard to the future was not conceded due importance. Fact was perverted and life made unreal by the supposition of exaggerated intellectualization. It is no such canny determination that is implied in the Marxian theory of economic determinism. The theory is not even one of mercenary motivation, nor are the "material conditions" posited as determinants to be construed as "material interests." It would even appear that "when we take society in a given moment detached from what preceded it and what follows it, we find that ideal motives . . . play the leading role."¹

One of the chief obstacles to the general acceptance of the economic interpretation is the fact that people ordinarily think of it as a doctrine of motivation, whereas its concern is with

¹ Boudin, Louis B. *Theoretical System of Karl Marx* (Chicago, 1912), 258, 260.

the deeper springs of life. The assumption that "motives" are what their name implies—motors—is superficial and implies a degree of knowledge not yet attained with respect to the interaction of mind and body and the general operation of personality. So far as we know, motives are appearances, surface phenomena, sentimental concomitants of action. The consciousness that action is about to take place or is taking place in an atmosphere of emotional interest need not be posited as the cause of the action. One has his opinions as to why he is acting in a certain way and he calls this opinion with its feeling tone a motive, yet a knowledge of these conscious associates of behavior does not account for the behavior. We have to do with something more basal than intellect, feeling, will in the popular sense. We have to do with organic reactions to stimuli, reactions that can be comprehended only in terms of their genetic history and not by means of their modern psychic accompaniments. Human actions are spontaneous and organic more frequently and more largely than reflective and rational. In every phase of life, it is only with reference to a few recent developments that ratiocination has much function, save in erecting plausible disguises for unseemly factors of behavior. The bulk of life goes on almost of itself, under an impulsion from behind and within, not under an outside lure from ahead.

To the novice it may seem impractical and far-fetched to offer an explanation of life in terms of organic response grounded at bottom in the chemistry of protoplasm; but recent developments make it intensely practical. Life is deeper and more wonderful than ordinary superficial naive belief can even dream. Man can peer ahead as far as the torch of racial experience throws its rays, but he is governed by the reverberations of racial experience rather than by the laws of an unsound ocean of infinity around and ahead. Motives are thus not ultimate forces, but are in many instances deceptive disguises of reality. The Connecticut deacon who, when a new cargo of his slaves hove in sight, offered up fervent thanks that so many more pagans were being brought into the marvellous light illustrates the unreliability of motivation. The doctrine of the objectivists in sociology offers an important contribution at this point. They are social "behavior-

ists," treating external phenomena without regard to subjective aspects. The thoroughgoing objectivist would assert that the scientist has no right to explain human phenomena by the mind. This view may be extreme, but it is correct to say that we must not attempt to explain anything by the forms of consciousness without understanding the relation existing between the individual consciousness, the levels of subconsciousness, and the potentialities in unconsciousness.

The Marxian theory fits into such a setting. It does not make material "interests" control the course of history. The Marxian determinant is expressed as "material conditions," which indeed usually beget material interests which shape history, but not always. A class may forget its economic interests and be carried along by the sweep of ideas they engender. Neutral classes, and people whose interests lie in the opposite direction are carried away by the new ideas and champion the new order of things; "and this for the reasons that the new ideas are always the reflection of the economic changes which lie along the progress of society as a whole."² What the economic interpretation of history asserts is that within its field whatever be the state of mind, whatever the "motive," economic processes are always at work below the surface or behind the scenes giving rise directly or indirectly to the conscious valuation, or disguising themselves in it, or shaping it into its functional form, or imposing inexorable limits that determine the quality of results. Even if it could be shown that economic motives do not exist, the demonstration would have no bearing on the economic interpretation. The degree of dependence of social conditions in general upon the evolution of the system of livelihood is the issue.

There has been some objection to the economic interpretation on the score of its being an evaluative category for measuring the worth of social change in terms of material goods. Carver says that "under the materialistic conception of history there is no wrong, there are only economic interests."³ Such a caricature of the doctrine scarcely requires comment after what has previously been said. Legitimate method of course

² *Ibid.*, 30, 37.

³ In the Introduction to *Brasol*, Boris L. Socialism vs. Civilization (New York, 1920).

confines us to a study of change in economic means or method as the essential conditions of intrinsic change in social form and process. If the economic interpretation contains any tendency to ethical materialism, that is a superficial and illogical consequence. Normally there is no such thing as an economic want; for economic goods are not desired in themselves but as means to the fulfilment of other desires, which may be as "spiritual" as conditions will warrant.

It is pertinent, further, to the problem of definition to determine what function the doctrine of economic determinism is capable of performing in the realm of thought or of action. If it is nothing more than an attempt to clear up the genetic background and lineage of the social elements of today—to explain the civilization of the present by tracing each item back step by step to some proximate or remote economic cause—the feat might possibly be achieved without giving prime significance to the current economic element in human life. The practical bearing of a merely genetic theory on the question of present social control is very indirect and remote. Bygones are bygones. At best the retrospect might afford a setting, perspective, insight, a mood of familiarity with social process, and perhaps perform a cathartic process of psychoanalysis on society of today.

If, however, the economic interpretation is intended as an analysis of actual social factors, a method of pulling to pieces the various interests of current life and exhibiting them as a veneer upon the underlying and real economic mass the doctrine is portentous. In practice, such is the contention of the adherents of the economic hypothesis: they believe that they can dissect and interpret, and thereby work toward the control of present social forces. It is even a serious question whether a pragmatic possibility may not constitute the most immediate present worth of the doctrine—whether it may not be an invaluable propaganda device, psychologically and pragmatically valid at the present stage of history as a scheme for presenting the past and present of the race in such a way as to arouse specific action of a revolutionary type irrespective of the objective or metaphysical truth of the dogma. Vida Scudder, for instance, asserts that "in the avowedly scientific analysis of Marx and his successors

there has proved to be something more vitally competent to hold men together than in the pure moral ideals of Mazzini."⁴ Penty considers the conception "a useful doctrine for the purpose of destroying existing society" (but an obstacle to the arrival of a new one).⁵ Sorel remarks that wherever the ideas enunciated by Marx on historical materialism (which is the broader concept which includes the economic interpretation as its main constituent) have deeply penetrated into the consciousness of people, the Socialist Party is strong and alive; otherwise it is weak and divided into sects.⁶ Such was the case before the special circumstances attendant on the War.

Every age will rewrite history for its own purposes. Aristocratic and bourgeois historians intentionally or unintentionally obscure such aspects of affairs as in the light of professed ideals would prove discreditable to their class. The proletarian historian is sure to retaliate. Today the economic issue is not only basal but uppermost, and it may be that progress can be stimulated by a revision of history that will accentuate the economic question. Such a possibility is in line with the new concept of relativity.

It should now be possible to understand the economic interpretation of history without inflation or evasion. In brief it is as follows: The main course of human events is determined throughout by the evolution that occurs within the sphere of the process of surmounting material scarcity. This economic evolution is itself a matter of correspondence to the requisites of survival. Non-economic factors in social evolution are in the main traceable to anterior economic origins. If there be elements that can not be accounted for in such wise, they are either items of indifference or else constitute sporadic variations that can not survive unless they can be fitted into the total scheme corresponding to the economic basis of the age. It will be observed that this viewpoint does not have to rule out spontaneous variation, nor yet to account for it. Neither does it presuppose an absolute harmony and equilibrium between all aspects of life at all times. It does assert, however, the general cor-

⁴ Scudder, Vida D. *Socialism and Character* (Boston, 1912), 123.

⁵ Penty, Arthur J. *A Guildsman's Interpretation of History* (New York, [1919]), 8.

⁶ Labriola, A. *Socialism and Philosophy* (Chicago, 1907), 182.

respondence between different phases of society at each epoch, though the degree of conformity and equilibrium may vary within considerable limits according as we study an epoch of stability, an epoch of gradual change, an epoch of crises, or an epoch of cataclysm. Looking at history in the large and in the long run, society is a real "universe" and not merely a conglomeration of institutions and ideas.

It should perhaps be observed before leaving this aspect of our theme that the use of the term "material" or "materilaist" in connection with the discussion does not even raise the question as to the ultimate nature of the universe or the ultimate meaning of life. We are not concerned with philosophical materialism (as contrasted with theological concepts) nor with ethical materialism (as contrasted with moral idealism). No metaphysical considerations or controversies are involved in our hypothesis. It is merely alleged that changes in material conditions are the springs of history, no matter what the causes of these changes may be. The economic factor is the main one because it is the only material factor that undergoes sweeping change and development. The physical universe, the mesological environment of society, remains fairly constant within the lapse of time that is of main significance for our purposes; whereas economic technique is continually disturbing old adjustments and furthering new ones. Economics thus constitutes the kinetic sphere of the social process.

That the view which represents the main current of life as but the elaboration of the problem of livelihood has so far gained ground among scientists and philosophers as well as among practical men of affairs, and in the face of sentimental and selfish considerations against it, may be due to a correspondence between the doctrine and the needs of the times if not between it and intrinsic reality, or it may possibly be due to the lack of profound and comprehensive criticism. Most of the attempted refutation has done no more than seize on loose ends or surface flaws and treat these as marks of inherent unsoundness.

Thus it has been easy to find fault with much of the amateur history writing attempted by devotees of the economic conception. The economic hypothesis has never been adequately tried by

thoroughly competent and impartial historians in sufficient numbers and in a sufficient variety of fields to give conclusive results, and, as Cunningham remarks, the validity of an hypothesis can not be determined until it has been worked to its utmost limits. Experience may conceivably validate the hypothesis as a guide to results in harmony with facts and thereby furnish a pragmatic verification superior to any theoretical arguments. Meanwhile, the fact that no such thorough testing has been carried through is not an argument against the doctrine in question.

One demand sometimes made by critics is that economic determinists should demonstrate that a given economic cause always produces the same effect. This challenge betrays a very simple-minded conception, not merely of the theory but of the realities of life. It overlooks the complexity of social correlation and the multiple filiation of events. Specific economic influences may contribute to varied consequences according to the character of attendant circumstances, which themselves require to be resolved into their prime elements and interpreted and traced back to original economic considerations. "The same cause, then, may have different effects owing to the different mediums through which it operates. The light from the sun may cause a vast forest to develop or it may be the cause of a fire which consumes that very forest."

Another favorite method of assault is by the conjuring up of certain unruly episodes that resist reduction to the economic formula. Such instances prove nothing and disprove nothing, because history has so many gaps that may never be filled that it is impossible to make a case by selecting puzzling items whose attendant circumstances are perhaps obscured or unknown. Of course where the investigation is carried into the field of present affairs the case is somewhat different, but even in respect to contemporary events statistical data are so fragmentary and dubitable and so many obscure factors will yield their secrets only to protracted investigation that very little is proven or disproven by the citation of test cases for economic determinism. Plenty of refractory episodes could be accumulated to the confusion of any type of fundamental sociological interpretation. It must be particularly kept in mind, too, that any theory of evolution

allows for the occurrence of a large number of indifferent or misfit variations on which the process of selection is to work.

Marx has been accused of inconsistency in asserting that a nation backward in economic development may borrow from an advanced nation a social philosophy that will make the retarded nation ripe for advanced change. The objection is important as a means of directing attention to the fact that in every case the total economic situation must be taken into account. It will not suffice to examine economic circumstances at the mere point where the phenomenon to be accounted for occurs. It is necessary to include a survey of the whole area of influence. In a world economy, "the field is the world," not a province. No considerable amount of culture will be borrowed, however, by a nation so backward as to have no telegraph, no railroads, no steamships, no aerial or other convenient contact with more advanced parts of the earth. The borrowing of culture has followed the trail of commerce or of economic migration.

Hansen finds fault with economic determinism for assuming that all social institutions are adaptations to external environment, that but a single adaptation to given conditions is possible, and that if no changes took place in the mode of production social institutions would not change.⁷

Now of course the economic determinist does not assume that all social institutions that arise are real adaptations to environment. He does, however, stand on the general evolutionary hypothesis which interprets man and his ways in terms of correspondence to the environment. Unfit variations may indeed occur but are doomed to extinction. It does not devolve upon the present essay to set up a defense for the whole theory of evolution. It may, however, be remarked that no one undertakes to explain humankind save by reference to the influence of environment. The only controversy remaining on this head is as to the nature of the environment, whether "material" or "spiritual."

As for Hansen's second complaint, it is of course true that under the reign of law but one complete adaptation to given conditions is possible; but in human affairs there is only approxi-

mation to the conceivably perfect adjustment. Correspondence is always partial and transitory, and the economic interpretation takes due cognizance of this fact. Several more or less variant sets of institutions may represent passable degrees of adaptation to similar conditions. Even misfits are not instantaneously extinguished.

It is true, moreover, that "social institutions" did change before there were what would be commonly called economic "modes of production"—before organic evolution was superseded by technic evolution; that is, in animal society; but to imagine a human economy in which civilization should undergo significant changes while the method of production remained unchanged would be a severe tax on the mental faculties,—remembering of course that the field of influence in any particular instance is as broad as the reach of transport and communication, and that it is not permissible to draw conclusions from localized parts of the whole economic area.

There are many phases of the charge that economic factors do not possess utter priority and that the economic interpretation fails to allow sufficiently for the general influence of the cosmic environment, with its effect on man's outlook and imagination as well as on his organic existence; for the original nature of man, with its multitude of tendencies and propensities; for the bewildering and inextricable richness of the cultural texture that makes up life. The farther history advances, we are told, the more apperception there necessarily is in new economic factors,—more prejudice to overcome; the mind is not a mere mirror of the outer world; it accumulates possessions of its own and transmits them across the centuries and the continents. Institutions once established win an independent worth and are maintained for their own sake. We are bidden remember that a theorist can isolate the instances of the way in which one human interest has colored and conditioned the others, and, neglecting entirely the reactions in the contrary direction, can frame a doctrine of the overwhelming force of this or that factor.

The general fault of such criticisms is that they do not go back far enough in the process of evolution, they do not comprehend the principles on which evolution operates, and they do not perform a rigorous analysis of the complex elements

⁷ Hansen, Alvin H. The Technological Interpretation of History, in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XXXVI (Cambridge, 1921), 72-83.

in civilization or of the "higher powers of mind." They do not consider sufficiently the fact that the "economic interest" comes in a class by itself by reason of its almost purely instrumental character, nor do they make adequate account of the extent to which non-human or pre-human elements and principles come to bear on society through the mediation of the system of livelihood. It may indeed be said that the environmental factor is original, that the biologic factor was created by it, and that the resultant of their interaction produces the economic factor; but this is an artificial simplification of the story. The rise of life and the rise of economics were synonymous. Moreover inasmuch as man can not change the environment save by economic means, and since during historic times local environments have altered spontaneously only in exceptional cases or in slight degree, mesology is not an ultimate consideration of much kinetic importance for the historic period. Whether manipulation of biologic forces in human perpetuation and development will prove highly significant remains to be shown; but in any case eugenics can be effected only through economic instrumentalities and waits upon further economic developments. Of course no interpretation of society can be complete until the whole process has been traced out from every quarter along every line, but such a requirement assuredly does not mean that all filiations are primary or equally basic. The discussion that follows will cover in detail the whole field of human strivings and establish, at least provisionally, the primacy of the economic.

Of course priority does not necessarily mean genetic filiation. Davis has suggested that "genetic order is not necessarily significant for causal order" and that "even if economic needs are primary, and their satisfaction necessarily anterior to the satisfaction of other wants, we are not entitled to regard the economic phenomena as the cause of the other order."⁸ Now if by causality is meant some sort of metaphysical subtlety, it is impossible for scientists to embark on its quest; but if by casuality is meant no more than necessary antecedence, the case is simpler. Interests develop *pari passu* with the means for their satisfaction, so that the expansion and quality of means determines the expansion and quality of

wants, and the degree and kind of fulfillment depends on the same considerations. In so far, therefore, as our satisfactions are dependent on a mechanism for the surmounting of material scarcity, they have been mainly shaped by the evolution of such means of production.

The critic may go on to say that genetic filiation is not the significant feature in the analysis of current interests, inasmuch as the several factors in life function in a manner independent of their origin; and that "our estimates of the relative importance of life's factors or motives must be founded upon their *present functional relations*, not upon their genetic or their working relations in the past."⁹ It may even be alleged that the fact that everything in the universe is connected is of no practical help in dealing with particular cases. Such criticism serves to call attention to the complexity of the problem of interpretation but does not disprove the constructive value of a knowledge of social origins. There is great danger in resting content with immediate and obvious connections and in ignoring the deep, subtle, subconscious correlations. It can not be denied that genetic origin colors phenomena and largely determines their scope, tendency, and power. The seeming independence of derived interests is like the sense of "free will,"—it is an item to be interpreted, but it can not escape from the principle of causality. Undoubtedly social control depends not merely on a cross-section knowledge of the elements of society, but also on the remotest tracings of the ancestry of every element. Only by such a subtle and tireless analysis shall we arrive at mastery. Doubtless one main reason why so much effort is lost in vain attempts to produce specific social changes is that the reformers are not sufficiently adept at reaching down into the depths of life and getting hold of basal factors in the light of their genetic background. The very fact that economics rests on simpler and more basal foundations than do law, politics, morals, and the like, gives it priority, and the fact that everything must run the gauntlet of the struggle for livelihood gives economics primacy. While other social features have a long distinct genealogy of their own, the antecedence, in each case, of economic activity gives it a real weight in the subsequent social process, even aside from the current selective power exer-

⁸ Davis, M. M. Jr. *Psychological Interpretations of Society* (New York, 1909), 220-221.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 220-222.

cised by present economic environment. In these ways, economics dominates the general run of social phenomena. It is of course impossible for sociology to furnish on demand a complete genealogy of every detail of social interest or a complete delineation of the current filiations; but the burden of proof is still on the person that attempts to introduce into the human equation any factors other than those of the general attempt at adjustment to the universal environment, which attempt is mediated at every point by the economic process.

The last type of criticism to engage attention at this point has to do with the whole question of causality as involved in the economic interpretation. It is asserted that the theory has never worked out clearly its fundamental concepts, that it takes no account of the question in what sense it asserts necessity in social change, that it does not make clear the essential nature of consistency of superstructure with technique. We are reminded that knowledge of the economic fundamentals of a situation does not enable one to reconstruct the whole ideology. The whole issue is one between a sort of non-human mechanistic determinism and a theory of causality that will make due allowance for the fact that, whether or not man is a machine, behavior involves in a functional way the processes of consciousness. Technique is in reality a psychic phenomenon. Economic conditions have not uniformly effected the required social changes—because they have not been understood, or else have been counteracted by social conservatism. It is not always easy to explain precisely how ideas arise out of material conditions. There is room, also, for difference of opinion as to the part played by consciousness in the determination of social evolution. The assumption of calculating class interest as the psychological medium is inadequate inasmuch as institutions do not change readily enough to answer class interests.

It is even charged that the Marxian point of view leads to fatalism. But fatalism signifies a state of arbitrary unmanageable intervention *ab externo*; whereas economic determinism, even though to some superficial thinkers it may seem to reduce man to a sort of puppet, is really a theory of regular resident forces constituting the operations of human nature. The conception may be humiliating to human conceit with its

melodramatic fondness for the adoration of great personages, its resentment at the dominion of "blind forces," and its belief that "that in man which responds to greatness" will shake off the stupefying effect of "the material discoveries of the last century." Such a viewpoint should not, however, repel men from the economic interpretation; for it does not make the individual an unconscious mechanism, nor does it lead to inaction in the face of inevitable destiny, but rather shows each individual and group how to participate in the real tendencies of the time instead of getting lost on sidetracks or in blind alleys. The materialistic conception of history may, in fact, be regarded as "simply an attempt at a philosophy of human effort."¹⁰ It does not hold to the mechanical view that "things will work out all right by themselves," but recognizes that social changes are effected only through the medium of human beings. Dietzgen wrote to Marx after volume I of *Das Kapital* appeared: "You have expressed for the first time in a clear, resistless, scientific form what will be from now on the conscious tendency of historical development, namely to subordinate the hitherto blind forces of the process of production to human consciousness."¹¹

There is perhaps less danger from fatalistic exaggerations than from over-intellectualization of the social process. It is easy to read into history an excess of telic control and to overlook the power of agencies operating through subconscious channels,—psychic reactions, if you will, yet scarcely to be distinguished from mechanical reflex. Technique can produce psychic adjustments and social consequences of whose occurrence the subjects are at the time scarcely aware. Only a naive psychology can assert the dominance of reason or make life primarily intellectual rather than impulsive. Moreover we must guard against putting an arbitrary hiatus between thought and action. "Our social and economic needs and the means of satisfying them" are in the strict sense neither consequences nor causes of civilization. They are civilization.

Such a view does not belittle the value of psychology. The economic interpretation is a psychological interpretation. Economic change is a

¹⁰ Gide, Charles, and Rist. *History of Economic Doctrines* (Boston, [1915]), 470.

¹¹ Untermann, Ernest. *Science and Revolution* (Chicago, 1920), 124.

result of human wants. Social change is produced by it, not by mere automatic material causation, but largely through the mediation of the human will acting on conscious or unconscious impulsion to seek adjustment. We may say that the causality of material factors consists to a considerable degree in the fact that they are selected as appropriate means of bringing about desired results. Being what they are, men of necessity adopt the most plausible means of acting themselves out. This fact explains why innovations in technique are accepted. But the acceptance of the new method of production makes inevitable a readjustment of other life activities so as to restore equilibrium. Men are thus creatures of the technique in the sense that at every stage they have to make their life fit the possibilities of sustaining it and its interests. Thus we arrive at a natural sequence: human wants, economic technique, new psychology of the job and new economic institutions, social process in general.

Davis has issued warning against positing causality where there is only correlation; we can not subtract one factor and use the resultant standstill as proof that we have unravelled the secret of causation. He would reserve the word "cause" for "that antecedent condition, which, from the point of view of our special interest is the necessary antecedent of the phenomenon." On this basis, causality would be "essentially tentative and subjective"—a mere pragmatic category depending on the purpose of the moment.¹² Some thinkers would regard the economic interpretation in precisely the same way; but while we can not, of course, prove by the standstill resulting from the subtraction of a factor in our problem that the deleted factor was the cause of the product, still if we find one condition that seems more disposed to independent variation than the rest, we may be confident that we have hit upon a clue to something more than an arbitrary and subjective relation. The economic interpretation is of course more aggressive in its claims but it is not our purpose at this point to do more than elucidate the sense in which it is concerned with causality.

It may be that the time is not ripe for a real interpretation of history,—that there is still too

much to do in unearthing fact and reducing chaos to some kind of order. Weisengruen's declaration that so far as we can see there are no historical laws at all¹³ is not absolutely preposterous, nor is Walling's advice against going too far back in quest of lessons from history.¹⁴ Boucke contends that a history of religion or of jurisprudence must not "be referred to particular and corresponding economic epochs." Such a cross reference, he admits, may form part of an historical study, but is rarely essential. To his way of thinking, "the tracing of a causal relation between economic and non-economic events is an idle undertaking because all life is a unit and all economics the product of a mental unit: man himself All events are interrelated, but it is as correct to write a history of religion without resort to economics as to record economic developments without injecting a dissertation on religion."¹⁵

Such a compartmental view of life corresponds to a rudimentary state of research and will be untenable as investigation advances. It is clear, too, that economic interpreters tend to proceed on an *a priori* basis and prospect for economic factors that can be seized upon and used to explain given events, whereas the ultimate history would have no such axe to grind, yet it is precisely by the enthusiastic driving of special hypotheses that the general field will be explored and mastered. The unearthing of facts will give best results if accompanied by efforts at concatenation. Until we can foretell how social structure will be modified by specific factors we have not arrived at a sociology—a science of history.

The upshot of the present argument is to the effect that the economic interpretation does not rest for its validity upon amateur applications, that it can not be upturned by specious demands for causal uniformity or by the presentation of disconcerting historical episodes, that it is not vitiated by the crossing of cultures, that it is a reasonable expression of the evolutionary concept, that its genetic point of view does serve the purpose of actual functional analysis, and that its use of the common-sense concept of causality is not an invocation of mechanistic fatalism and can not be challenged as disingenuous sophistry.

¹² Boudin, *op. cit.*, 33-34.

¹³ Walling, Wm. E. *Larger Aspects of Socialism* (New York, 1913), 102-103.

¹⁴ Boucke, O. Fred. *The Limits of Socialism* (New York, 1920), 92, 106.

¹⁵ Davis, *op. cit.*, 216-219.

A hypothesis is clearly needed for the exploration of the tangled jungles of history. The only sound method of criticism of the economic interpretation is by means of a painstaking analysis of the realities of life in terms of the evolution and functioning of the interests of man—in terms, that is, of psychogenesis and psychoanalysis. In the course of such an exposition, it will be necessary to pass in review all the interests and factors that might be supposed to furnish, singly or collectively, a better explanation of history than is afforded by the economic factor, or that might be correlative with it as elements in a composite interpretation. The following chapters will trace the lineage of the human interests from the most

rudimentary manifestations of life activities in primitive organisms, through the manifold differentiations of the life struggle into apparently independent interests, down to the complexity of present-day behavior, and attempt to arrive thus at a sound exposition of social correlation, not merely in reference to the basal economic interpretation, which may indeed at many points be implied rather than explicitly thrust forward, but also as a complete presentation of the principles of interrelationship prevailing in social affairs. As introduction to this study of the ramifications of human interest, attention must turn to an elucidation of the whole concept of social relativity.

FADS AND FANCIES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

LORINE PRUETTE

I SOMETIMES despair of the scientific attitude as a possibility to be attained by any man.

I often despair of the scientists as such and think that Karl Pearson, when he was urging the cultivation of the scientific attitude, might as well have saved his breath, or that Sumner, when he said that in most matters all of us must be naïve and take our opinions from some one else, should have said in all matters. Certainly in the social sciences it is very difficult to know who is really scientific.

Those of us who are not busy uttering ponderous platitudes—or sprightly ones, which seem even worse,—appear unutterably busy rushing around after fads and fancies. A new word comes out, an old word goes to the scrap heap. Presto! Volte-face! Hear them coming, running with the wind. In undignified haste the scientists fall over each other trying to get away from the pernicious word which formerly they prized as one of the brightest of their possessions.

The ordinary, frivolous, foolish woman hears that skirts are going to be shorter this season and home she rushes to take up tucks in all her frocks. But she does not claim to be a scientist. She knows she is following the latest fad in skirt-lengths—that is what she aims to do.

I think that scientists sometimes aim to follow the latest fad, and for the same reasons as the

women, but they do not admit it. There is also another reason for the scientists, a bread-and-butter reason why they must keep up with the crowd. I allude to the publication orgy at which none of us wish to be missing. If we did not write quite so many articles and books it would be possible to give a little more critical scrutiny to these new fads. But there is no time. If we do not write it up somebody else will. When a single article published sometimes means an increase of two hundred dollars in salary to an instructor it is very sensible to write articles even though the articles do not make sense. We none of us wish to be left behind, we do not wish to be considered gauche, we do not wish to wear our skirts too long or our words too short. *En avant!* Down with the old fad, up with the new. And those who do not change at once, them will we annihilate with the dread term—unscientific!

Sometimes we change through sheer, downright fear, a terrible craven fear that hastens our acts ahead of our convictions.

The journalistic writer must be changeable, quick to seize upon the latest fad, but the scientific writer should be conservative. For presumably he is concerned with truth and it is not reasonable to expect that many truths, requiring changes in our thinking and our phrasing, will be discovered within the life-time of any one of us.

No fad within recent years has taken hold more readily than the anti-instinct craze which has been raging now for several years, through psychology and sociology and social psychology, even beginning to appear in history and government.

Now in the craft of writing, which I follow sometimes, more or less whole-heartedly, a word is a thing to be respected but seldom worshipped. A word is not lightly denied and thrown away, for it may have done good service for many years and it may be loaded with the thinking of countless active minds. But in that craft a word, or two or three words, is not sufficient to make a reputation. While in the social sciences a single word, repeated frequently enough, may give a man a considerable reputation. In the social sciences which I also follow more or less whole-heartedly a word is not so respected, not so cared for, but it may be worshipped as a god or torn down as a false god, it may be imbued with a strange magic that will make or break those who use it.

Tab off the names of well-known scientists, particularly in sociology, although this may be done as well for psychology: Giddings, Ross, Tarde, Durkheim, Kropotkin, Sumner, Bagehot. Do not the phrases by which these men are known echo in your mind? Consciousness of kind, social control, imitation, collective consciousness and division of labor, mutual aid, mores and folkways, and best of all, Bagehot's cake of custom. Comto, although nobody reads him, goes down in glory because he fathered—not the science, for he did not do that,—but the bastard name of sociology. In the social sciences a good phrase is so rare that we are victimized by it.

But because of this magic with which words are endowed there may be bad words as well as good. What has been a miracle worker, the last salvation of feeble minds, may become over-night profane, dangerous, tabooed by all good tribesmen. So instinct has become negatively charged. It is on the scrap heap. It bleeds under the repeated attacks. All that keeps it alive is that nobody has found a substitute for it. But see us rushing on, scientists all, bent on demolishing it. It simply is not good form in scientific circles to have an instinct,—worse than bunions, which, as everybody knows, are found only in the lower classes. We will not have an instinct anywhere around us. We are going to deny it thrice before

the next flock of journals comes out. We are going to wash our hands of it before everyone else does. We must not be a straggler in the great mad rush toward conformity.

Comes Professor Allport with his "prepotent reflexes." The psychologists turn on the sociologists, delighted to get in a little dig at their nearest rival. *You* always liked old Instinct, *you* found him fit very well into *your* systems. You never dreamed that he was a masquerader, obscuring the true son of god. And the crowd, endowed with that "crowd mind" to which Allport so objects, do their best to illustrate it for him by rushing after his prepotent reflex.

Now some of those reflexes are not, in the customary sense, reflexes at all. I speak hesitantly because I do not know enough about physiology to be certain of the latest fad there. But Allport's reflexes seem to be groupings of reactions based upon reflexes. That is very close to our old dying friend instinct, which used sometimes to be described as a chain of reflexes. "Prepotent reflexes." It is a splendid combination. The adjective is what makes it go. The adjective gives the dignity and the power. Yet the combination savors strongly of tautology. Suppose we said fixed reflex, powerful reflex, reflex capable of functioning. Why certainly, you answer, all those things are implied in the term reflex—why repeat yourself?

I suggest that we rush one step farther, that we slough off reflex, prepotent or otherwise. If some reflexes are prepotent and must be so described, then others are not; if some reflexes are fixed and if this is worth commenting on, then others are not. Animal psychologists are beginning to suggest this. To be sure, the animal psychologists suggested a long time ago, so far back as Morgan's chick, that instincts were not the perfected mechanical affairs we tended to think them. Now they are moving down the scale and concluding that what seem reflexes to us may not be reflexes except in very partial form. A psychologist in Mars might conclude it to be reflex action which makes us go to meals at the same hour each day. Perhaps the animals too live by habit and learning, and only appear to have all these reflexes.

Habit and learning become the great gods before which we all bow. In their name we push farther and farther back into limbo the fixed con-

tributions of original nature. Perhaps soon we shall not admit any such fixed contributions. But that brings us dangerously near a long defunct fad, Locke's *tabula rasa*. After all Locke did allow the white paper upon which experience was to write. Perhaps in our deification of habit we shall have to deny even the white paper.

But if we destroy reflex, put it on the scrap heap along with instinct, what peg shall we find to hang our same old thoughts on—the same that hung on instinct once and now on reflex? We need a phrase that is rather colorless but which may take on a great deal of color from those same old thoughts. Something a little hard to spell and say—something quite impressive. How about visceral tension? Excellent, except it leaves out so much. Then visceral-proprio tension! Instead of an instinct of fighting or of fleeing, instead of a prepotent reflex of struggling or withdrawing, we shall have visceral-proprio tensions for contracting and expanding. *A bas*, prepotent reflex—up visceral-proprio tension!

Some one putting that forth seriously in a four hundred page volume may make his reputation and get his salary raised. I hereby resign all rights in the phrase. It is not mine anyway. I picked it up somewhere. Probably it means something quite different, but that does not matter in the least. Any one who writes four hundred pages about it can give it a new meaning and a new magic. There they are, three perfectly good words, all ready to be exalted.

I do not want them, for the old word instinct serves me amply as a cloak for my ignorance. And cloaks for our ignorance are all that any words representing original nature are likely to be. The old cloak is a little word perhaps and it has been patched a time or two but it will still serve. Not all scientists have joined in the howl-

ing, not by any means all, but the trouble is that those who howl do it so noisily and with such exaggerated price. Watson, in the new and enlarged edition of his *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist* retains the term instinct and treats it just as we always did. He pays far less attention to the terms and far more to fact of our ignorance. Probably when the shouting dies away we shall all go back to using the old cloak.

At dawn, so I am told—for I never got up to see—the sparrows come out on the New York pavements and they stand there very still, even though the worms may be lying at their feet. They turn their little heads to the left and listen, then they turn to the right—and listen. They are listening to the song the earth has to tell them. And when they have heard it they dance, little sparrows on the pavements of New York.

In the morning the scientists come to their journals. They turn their little heads to the left and listen, then they turn to the right—and listen. They are listening to the song of the linotype. And when they have heard it—they do not dance, ah no,—they write articles for the journals, little scientists everywhere, writing articles to keep the printing presses going. Be still, my child, they are writing about the great discovery of the truth, the latest, very latest, tiny fad or fancy of their science. They must hasten, faster, faster, for it is not so meritorious to come in at the tail of the procession.

And I have written an article. But it is not a scientific article. It is not endowed with the scientific attitude. It is very biased. It is a personal, private rebellion,—for I am tired of the howling, and weary of running with the wind. And I am sickened, more than a little, by the fads and fancies in what I had thought to find the citadel of truth.

Teaching and Research in the Social Sciences

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

NEXT STEPS IN RURAL SOCIAL RESEARCH

J. H. KOLB

IT IS THE hope of your committee that this luncheon shall mark the high point in our program and in fact in our whole year's work. This is to be a family affair where good fellowship should have its way. It is to be a time also when we are to have our attention directed to the future with its problems and its possibilities. It is our purpose to stress three points of emphasis, namely, knowing your own state, making a special contribution in the general field of research, and giving attention to the needs for a social psychological study of rural society.

No one is better qualified to speak to the first point than Professor Hobbs of the University of North Carolina, and no one is better fitted to speak to the last point than Professor Bernard of the University of Minnesota. It is our purpose now to direct attention for just a moment to the second point of emphasis, namely the necessity on the part of each one of us for making a contribution to the general field of rural social research. This statement is largely the result of various committee discussions. Plans to carry forward this emphasis are to be presented for your action. It is our conviction that the time has come for a taking of stock of our various research programs. A mimeographed summary of such projects recently issued by Dr. Galpin's office at Washington in correlation with our own News Letters gives us some idea of the scope and intensity of our work. These projects cover a wide range of subjects; they represent various methods of study, and they have been tremendously successful in blazing the way to the heart of many real problems. We believe that it is time to mass our forces at certain points and to drive through for convincing conclusions. The pioneering and the reconnoitering should, by all means, be continued,

but certain problems have now emerged which demand exhaustive study on a national scale. The methods of study should be such as to make possible comparison of results.

Two possible ways to accomplish this are to be presented for your consideration. The first suggestion is that each one of us shall lay out our research program on a long-time basis and definitely designed to correlate with projects in other institutions. Such plans will need to take into account our own training, our special interests and capabilities, and it will need to take into account the state and the institution in which we are working. In Wisconsin, for example, we are trying to carry on various analyses of local grouping arrangements. In order that such projects may ultimately contribute to a general fund of understanding, it is to be proposed that a standing committee on research be appointed.

The second suggestion is that we here and now place ourselves on record asking for a definite and vigorous expansion of the program of the Rural Life and Farm Population Division of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in Washington. Great things have been done by this division, but the field and the needs in this field are rapidly expanding and crowding in upon us. It is important that we speak to Washington as a unified group. It is important that we keep on speaking until real results are accomplished. More local institutions need to be encouraged by this division to begin or to expand their research programs. An aggressive leadership needs to be given to the correlation and comparisons and often to the interpretation of local projects. It is exceedingly important that our needs be presented to the U. S. Census Committee having in charge the farm population schedules. And finally more major projects need to be undertaken on a national scale similar to the standards of living studies now so well under way.

EDITOR'S NOTE: This department contains the papers read in the Rural Sociology section at the recent meeting of the American Sociological Society in Chicago.

RESEARCH PROBLEMS IN THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RURAL LIFE

L. L. BERNARD

SINCE my subject is specialized to research problems in rural life, I shall assume that it is legitimate to speak of contrasts between the aggregates or types of rural and urban life when by doing so it is possible to define more clearly my meaning. In discussing any social psychological problems of either rural or urban life, it is necessary to keep in mind two factors which are complements of each other and are constantly coöperating in the production of results, but which nevertheless must be kept separate in logic as a method of distinguishing and defining processes at work. These are the mental or psychic characteristics of people and the environments which impinge, directly or indirectly, upon the human organism or groups of such organisms and thereby produce psychic consequences, individually or collectively, in these organisms and groups. Hence we must define and measure both the personalities and the environments which interact and produce each other. Our second task will be the classification of problems of psychic and psycho-social adjustment in rural people and in rural life with a view to the discovery of the nodal points at which knowledge should be sought or investigations made. And thirdly, I shall hope to make some suggestions as to proper subjects of psychological and psycho-sociological investigation as revealed by this display of problems. The short time allowed for this paper necessarily will make impossible more than the barest outline of each of these three tasks. This is all the more to be regretted, since it would be highly desirable to outline in some degree the investigational procedures of each problem. Each problem, however, must have its own procedure and its separate exposition would consume the time of at least one paper before this meeting.

I. The psychic make-up of rural people may be considered under two general headings, those traits that are inherited and those which are acquired. The former traits are not supposed to differ very materially from corresponding ones in urban populations. The great majority of city

people in America were either born in the country or they trace their relatively immediate ancestry back to rural stock in this or other countries. Even if the two types of communities do select fundamentally different psychic types, as some sociologists have thought, natural and social selection would not as yet have produced such obvious differentiation in this country. Hence the social psychologist will find no investigational problem of importance in this connection. We may perhaps find more congenital feeble-mindedness and perhaps a different distribution of milder psychopathic states or personalities in the country, and statistics show less insanity in the country than in the cities; but it is by no means certain that all of these traits are to be accounted for by inheritance. Yet the occurrence of such characteristics, inherited or acquired, in the rural population should be determined. It is especially important, in view of the insistent pressure of the problems of democracy and of economic and political organizations in the country, to know the general level of intelligence of the rural population. Investigations of all of these problems have been made, but as yet the results are by no means complete or satisfactory. Sometimes the bias of the investigator has entered into the equation and in almost all cases either sufficiently representative samples have not been used or the methods of defining and checking data have been inadequate.

In the matter of acquired mental traits there is a vastly greater difference between the rural and urban populations. Almost from the cradle to the grave the environmental forces which condition responses are different and the habits which grow up out of, or as, the conditioned responses are also different for the two communities. The difference in acquired traits is primarily, in the last analysis, due to the differences in environments. Different phases of environments condition or control the psychic responses of the two populations in different degrees. These phases of environment operate upon the two populations in differing tempos and with varying de-

degrees of insistency. Even within the same phases of environment the qualities and the quantities of pressures of the environing institutions and processes are different. Thus inevitably rural populations develop different ideals, attitudes, knowledge contents, mental and moral and social skills, from those of the urban populations; for all of these are in their completed forms acquired rather than inherited. But the problem of measuring these differences of personality traits, both as to quantity and quality, is a difficult one and in many cases must await the development of further investigational technique. Or, perhaps we should say, this technique of investigation will have to be developed in the process of investigation itself; for each problem necessitates in a certain sense the creation of its own specific technique, although it can borrow much of general method by analogy from the procedures of other related problems.

II. If the differential character of the environments which condition the acquired or habit responses determine to so large a degree the character of these responses, it seems desirable that we should possess a clearer insight into the nature of the environments themselves than we have as yet attained. Hitherto we have been content to lump all external conditioning factors under the general heading of the one word environment, which thereby became a sort of mystical conceptual catch-all for those influences on character building which were not included in the heredity or otherwise accounted for. I have subdivided this general environment into three general classes of factors, with certain subdivisions, as follows:¹

The physical environment

The biological or organic environment

The social environment

The physico-social environment

The bio-social environment

The psycho-social environment.

The first two forms of environment are the direct products of nature, while the social environment involves always the transformed relationship of man and nature, or of man to nature, as well as of man to man. The elements of the physical and biological environments are suffi-

ciently well known that we need not pause here to state them in detail. The social environments are built up from the adjustment technique which arises as the product of man's impact upon his physical and organic worlds respectively. The content of the physico-social and the bio-social environments may be described primarily as inventions, for it is by means of inventive processes that the underlying physical and organic materials are transformed into phases of the social environment. Thus stone and earth and iron and other chemical elements are taken from the physical environment and transformed into such physico-social environmental content as houses, railways, printing presses, guns and earthenware. And the animals of the plains or the trees of the forest cease to be merely organic environment when they become by transformation draught animals or furniture, for now they are bio-social environment. The psycho-social environment is that vast complex of organizations of ideas and attitudes, knowledge and beliefs, art and science, which has taken on relatively definite and concrete form in the minds of men and which are transmitted from one person to another as units and which function in the control and molding of the character of persons and institutions. It is the minds of persons and their institutions themselves in their more stable and permanent and objective aspects. The psycho-social environment, although it is entirely the creation of the human mind in contact situations, is the most voluminous, the most powerful of all the environments. It creates civilization. It is civilization itself.

These several environments act differently, are present in varying quantities and qualities, in city and country. And this fact in itself presents a whole group of investigational problems to the social psychologist and the sociologist who may wish to understand the extent and kinds of environmental pressures the rural sociologist and the social worker must take into account in dealing with rural problems. In the absence of definite knowledge in this regard it is even now necessary for them to make estimates and assumptions in this regard. It is obvious enough, of course, that the physical and biological environments are relatively more important and make more direct contacts with the population in the country than in the city. Likewise it is apparent that the

¹ An article on the nature and classification of the environments treating this subject in much greater detail will appear in the near future.

physico-social environment is relatively more important and the bio-social environment relatively less important in the city. The psycho-social environment is necessarily the dominant environmental type in both the country and the city, but it is vastly more developed in the city than in the country, and this fact has much significance for the investigator who seeks to unravel the personal attitudes of rural people and the psycho-social processes which control and characterize their collective life. Much research needs to be undertaken in the determination of the types and phases, in the degree of development and the means of transmission of the psycho-social environment in the country. For upon these facts, as they may be uncovered and classified, must depend the programs and possibilities of development of rural institutions and organizations, as well as the realization of individual development.

If we turn now to the consideration of the concrete psychic and psycho-social problems of rural life which need to be investigated we should not forget that we cannot grasp the content of the individual mind or the quality of its behavior apart from an understanding of its environment, especially the psycho-social environment. As before said, there are three classes of problems which must be studied here, those of the individual attitude and adjustment, those of the communication of attitudes or impulses and types of behavior, and those of the nature of rural organization as influenced by psychic and psycho-social processes, especially of the more derivative kind.

III. First, we shall consider individual attitudes and adjustments, and the immediate processes and factors which condition them. First among these should be presented the personal attitudes which we have popularly attributed to farmers, such as their conservatism, individualism, heightened suggestibility, mysticism, shyness, suspiciousness, introvert personalities, personal democracy, sentimentality, and the like. These and other personal characteristics are generally attributed to the farmer, but it is largely by blanket imputation. We need to find out to what class of farmers each one of these attributes applies and under what favoring conditions it is developed. What are the causes of his conservatism, mysticism, suspiciousness, etc., when they exist? What conditions of the social, espe-

cially of the psycho-social, environment can be brought to bear upon the farmer to remove or modify such attitudes and produce others more normal in their stead, by means of the development of normal conditioned responses? These are vastly important problems and any research which will answer such questions will go far toward solving some of the most fundamental program problems of rural life. In such connections as this we see that a knowledge of environment is as important as an understanding of personality, in fact that the former understanding is largely preliminary to the latter.

Mr. Lippmann has made much of stereotyped forms of thinking in his work on *Public Opinion*. Of these we find many evidences in rural communities. There is still much conventional and traditional thinking in the country, although probably less now than formerly. We should know in what connections, among whom and why such forms of thinking occur here. What are the conventionalizing agencies in rural life? What effect does this conventional thinking, these stereotyped modes, have upon the vitality and effectiveness of rural political, religious, social and economic life and institutions? Another problem, which may also be stated in a form for investigation, although of the psychological rather than of the statistical type, is that of finding the method and the means whereby it will be possible to transform these stereotyped and platitudinous attitudes and ideals into more rational ones by means of a proper control of the psycho-social environments as manipulated through education, propaganda, and the like.

Farmers are said to suffer more from repression and inhibitions than city people do. This is probably true. At least we can infer in an *a priori* manner that the condition of country life,—its monotony, isolation, conventionality, dogmatism, lack of cosmopolitanism, its transperency, its rigor, and consequent Puritanism,—all of these and more factors, tend to inhibit the free and extrovert type of personality and produce instead the repressed and introvert character. Probably such conditions go far toward accounting for the shyness of farmers and their lack of initiative in the furthering of social programs and in the protection of their own interests when they are attacked by more aggressive factions. The

farmer is usually not a good public speaker, he does not think well on his feet, he finds it difficult to think large questions through and come to adventurous conclusions with a large degree of self-assurance; he does not uniformly live and think and act in a large way. There are, of course, exceptions, and these have become more numerous as the business of farming and the contacts of rural life generally come out from their isolation into the broader contacts of the urban culture.

Here again we must not only study the causes of these repressions and inhibitions, classify and schedule them, but we must also find out and classify the ways in which these inhibitions can be released and the repressions removed. One of the aims of the present day social worker in rural communities—especially of teachers, ministers, club leaders, extension workers, and the like—is or should be to find out a technique of releases and their social controls, which would stimulate rural people to constructive self-realization and thus promote social advancement. There is need of more initiative, socially useful aggression, and above all of the development of self-confident and socially effective personalities. What things in the psycho-social, or even in the bio-social, and physico-social, environments will produce these results?

In their extreme forms these repressions and inhibitions terminate in neuroses and psychoses. We are told, and statistics seem to verify it, that some forms of psychopathic condition are more extensive among rural people than among urban populations. Others, of course, are less frequent. Certain classes, especially women and old people, who are not so likely to have a sufficiency of normal release-giving social contacts, are particularly liable to develop such states. There is some reason also to believe that the personalities of children may frequently be warped in pathological directions by the repressive conditions of rural life. In other respects the personalities of the young have more normal opportunities for development, because the open country, the stimulating animal and plant life, freedom to play, and the milder responsibilities of family chores and the like act as releases for the pent up energies of childhood along normal and physiologically

healthful lines. We talk much about these things in our public addresses and we put them into our textbooks even, but really we know but little about them in any quantitative and definite way. We are still in the qualitative stage of our thinking in this connection. We are dealing more with impressions than with established scientific data. But the problems are important, for here we are dealing with some of the most fundamental processes in rural character building.

Obviously we need to lift the whole subject out of the field of inference and a *a priori* assumption by means of inductive studies or investigations in order that we may create a scientific mental hygiene² for the normal development of rural life. Our ultimate aim is always of course a practical one, and that is why we need this information as the basis of a scientific rural mental hygiene. We must know how we can build up those conditioned responses which will release the spirit of the country child and of the rural adult for constructive self-expression and a socialized development. The general method here we know, and it lies in the modification of the old inhibitions or the forestalling of repressions by means of the establishment of carefully planned and executed conditioned responses. But we do not yet know adequately the specific means and agencies which are available for the purpose of carrying out such a program through the homes, schools, churches, clubs, and the organized community life in general. Here lies our problem of research in the psycho-social field in so far as it touches the problem of character building.

But here we must offer one word of warning. This type of research may not be regarded as true research at all by some people, because it is not primarily statistical but is largely psychological and sociological. To such people we must say that there are many kinds of research and that the simplest of these is the counting of heads or of hairs and the measuring of noses. We must find some way also of measuring institutions and social and personal values and of determining and classifying the conditions under which these are developed. This means that we must study intensively both the human personality and the en-

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vironments, especially the psycho-social environment, which is mainly responsible for character formation and direction.

IV. The second class of psychological problems is really psycho-social and belongs distinctly in the field of collective psychology. We have already spoken of the contrast between urban and rural attitudes as a result of differences in environment in the two regions. These differences, as everyone knows, are rapidly being minimized or removed, mainly by carrying over the urban social environments to the rural sphere. This tendency has already gone so far that the city modes of thinking and behavior have come largely to dominate those of the country districts. This has transpired to the extent that in many cases a distinctly rural culture is disappearing, if there ever has been such. The urban dominance has been brought about by the increased facilities for communication which have removed to a large degree the many forms of rural isolation and brought country people into direct contact with urban mores, folkways and ideas. We know in general what agencies are bringing this change about, but we scarcely know what degree of influence each separate cause has exerted. It would be important to study the relative power of the press, movies, radio, trolleys, automobiles, good roads, rural free delivery, extension service, the use of farm machinery, seasonal labor, Chautauquas, new viewpoints in the rural schools and the rural churches, clubs, and a score of other factors, economic and cultural, in the urbanization of country life and ideas. Some years ago the speaker made a study (unpublished) of the content of 500 rural newspapers for three separate issues, and a similar study has since been made by C. C. Taylor. It is important to know not only what factors operate here, but also how they operate in the process of urbanization and what is the effective content of each operating factor.

There is much discussion, mainly based on inference and random observation, of the channels through which this urbanization by communication operates and in what fields it is especially active. We hear it said, for example, that the urban financial interests spend very large sums through the newspapers and otherwise to control the economic and political opinions of farmers.

It would be very informing to know the exact facts, confirmatory or otherwise, regarding the amounts so spent, the methods used and the results obtained. Other similar problems easily suggest themselves. For example, to what extent are important rural cultural and personality values being destroyed or distorted and cheapened by the weight of this psycho-social attack of the city upon the country? Does something fundamental in morals, in human neighborliness, in peace of mind, or in the appreciation of nature and of character pass out of existence with the flight of rural simplicity before urban complexity? Such questions can be answered definitely if only we learn how to state our problem, that is, throw it into the form of a scientific investigation.

But there is also the normal aspect of this same problem. The coming of city ways often means progress, for it is usually in the city that the cake of custom first breaks and dissolves, setting free pent up energies of mind and of action for the organization of new attitudes and values of life. This may not always have been so. The Hebrew prophets of old came from the hamlets and villages of the rural sections of the kingdom and preached righteousness to those who had grown up in the cities, out of touch with the fundamental or basic relationships and problems of life. And in the early history of our own country, when the wider problems of social and political policy were simpler, some of our greatest leaders were educated by the clear cut moral issues of frontier life. But this is an intellectual age in which the methods and data of science must have the last word and it is the city that gives us these advance guards of thought. Here, for the most part, are located our great universities, research institutions, publishing houses, and here also is to be found a true community of thinking men and women stimulating each other to productive effort and freeing themselves from the shackles of ritual and rote under the spell of new knowledge. From these sources the country must learn and the more widely open are the channels of communication, the more effectively will the country profit from urban enterprises and resources in the field of scientific knowledge. Studies of such transmission, of their method and content could be effectively employed in mapping out future

programs for future improvement of rural welfare. We know already that the thing occurs, but we know but little of how and to what extent it is effected.

It is often said that the country is the last refuge of the old and discredited in attitudes and beliefs and practices; that here error and superstition and ignorance survive when they have been eradicated elsewhere. With a proper communicating system, this condition of affairs should rapidly cease to exist. One of the most decided effects of urban domination in psycho-social matters seems to be the inferiority feeling which country folk have in the presence of city people. They are so overawed by the prestige of urban culture and behavior that they seriously undervalue their own personalities. Laboring under this inferiority attitude, the country people are rendered much more susceptible to the propaganda of urban interests. Misinformation passes current as tested data because of the prestige of its source. Here again we are aware of the fact, but we know too little of the actual mechanisms by which the inferiority feeling is induced. These should be studied systematically and the situations in which results accrue should be described, classified and evaluated. We should also study in detail the wider reaching effects of this induced feeling of inferiority upon the rural control and management of rural institutions, especially upon the success of coöperative enterprises and community betterment programs. We also need information regarding its influence upon the quality of leadership, of school and church and club and the independence of judgment in matters political, economic and cultural. With such information we should be in much better position to give to rural life that self-sufficiency and tone which now it so often lacks. Country life and thinking should be made participators and not merely be dominated and intimidated by the powerful prestige of urban modes.

V. This transformation of rural attitudes, by means of which they may play a larger and more functional part in the determination of country life and thought, can come about effectively only by making rural organization and ideals derivative instead of merely primary. Professor Cooley³ has provided us with a lucid analysis of primary

groups and ideals, showing us how social character is formed under their molding influence. Primary groups and ideals persist longer in rural regions than elsewhere, for agricultural industry is largely domestic and distance contacts are not yet so well developed in rural life. But the world as a whole is coming to be dominated by derivative ideals and human contacts are becoming increasingly abstract and indirect. No primary group is or can be any longer self-sufficing in our complex and highly organized world. Rural primary groups still persist, but they are dominated, largely fashioned, sometimes disrupted, by the large overhead derivative organizations. People now live in distance groups, in what Ross calls publics, but also in publics with actual organization, and some degree of coercive and administrative power. What are these large and powerful overhead groupings which are molding and modifying the smaller and more local and more primary rural groupings? To have these named and scheduled, weighted and described, their processes and methods analyzed, would give us so much more of an adequate understanding of the mechanism of rural inter-relationships or psycho-social processes. We have begun to study local groupings in some detail. The work of Galpin, Kolb, Taylor and Zimmerman, among others, is known to all of us. Much more needs to be done in this direction as we learn to define our problems and to make schedules which will elicit data regarding the relationship of attitudes and group structure and the effects of abstract organization upon the processes of rural life. But we need also particularly to get at the facts about the large derivative overhead organizations. These have come to stay and they will increasingly determine local life and action and ideals. Lively, in his attempt at an overhead picture of the state of Ohio, and Branson and Hobbs and Rankin and others in similar studies, are feeling their way towards the construction of this systematic viewpoint. It is necessary if we are to make the best use of our materials for rural social control.

Rural thinking is also coming to have a derivative basis. There is less of the old time contrast between the fine personal idealism so characteristic formerly of rural life and the rampant rural individualism in the face of the wider social values. This dualism of character must pass under the impact of the abstract ideals and prin-

³ *Social Organization*. Chs. 3-5.

ciples of social welfare and organization which come from the centers of thought. Ultimately even the farmer cannot be both an individual perfectionist and a social anarchist. The fusion or accommodation of viewpoints will necessarily produce both good and bad results. It bids fair in part to socialize the farmer to a much higher degree than he has been socialized hitherto. He is learning to be coöperative in his thinking and doing. And along with this it also promises to make his personality more tolerant, broader guaged, sympathetic and ameliorative in outlook. But not all dominance of ideals from the abstractly derivative groups is constructively social. Much of it is propaganda for selfish and purely class ends, and this misuse of propaganda is made all the easier because of the facility with which modern derivative commercial organizations can get control of publicity agencies and with which suggestion will be taken by people who have developed inferiority complexes because of the power of the derivative modes and culture which come from the cities.

A number of questions of great importance for the future of rural society present themselves naturally in this connection. Must rural civilization and culture become permanently secondary to the urban, or will there arise a new type of group organization and new types of social ideals, derivative, as they must be, but also the product of an adjustment, on the basis of merit rather than of power, between rural and urban interests? Is Dr. Galpin correct in his expectation of a "rurban" order instead of an urban one, to take the place of the decaying rural system of culture? If we knew more about what these abstract derivative ideals which now dominate are and how they arise, what gives them their prestige with country folk, how they get their hearing, we would be in a better position to begin to answer this question.

In this connection, too, we may raise the question as to what will be the ultimate effect of this new dominance of derivative organizations and ideals upon such fundamental rural institutions as the church, schools, recreation, civic ideals and efforts, and the like. Will these institutions lose their local autonomy or will they retain it under the wiser guidance of more knowledge from above? Will country church and coöperative

society, school and amusement center, become merely extensions of urban systems or will they retain and increase their functional correlation with country life conditions? In other words will country life, in all its institutional aspects, be reduced to a vassal state, or will the new knowledge from overhead set the minds of farmers free and give them power and insight to perceive and organize values of their own, better than the old? We need numerous and carefully planned studies of the transformations now going on in these rural life institutions under the influence of the derivative or abstract overhead factors in order that we may see in process exactly what is happening here.

VI. By way of summary and warning it may be worth while to say that it is recognized that the account here given of rural psycho-social problems which require investigation as a preliminary to constructive social control is only partial. There are many more related matters which we need badly to understand. Some of my readers may be disturbed by the apparent vagueness of the problems which I have indicated. I will admit that some of them are highly complex, as is the nature of social problems. But I believe the skillful investigator will be able to find methods by which this information may be obtained, even if some of these problems have to be broken up into several constituent ones. The real care of the investigator should be to work out his methods thoroughly. The collection of the data becomes relatively simple when the student has stated clearly in his own mind the objective which he wishes to attain. After that it is chiefly a matter of effective statement of propositions which will elicit definite and calculable responses on the one hand, and of methods of computation which will give consistent and interpretable results on the other hand. The social investigator has yet to learn to be bold in attacking his field. It is a large one and is as yet incompletely explored.

In order to indicate the character of some of the psycho-social problems, which it seems to me are important, I will list them briefly, but without prejudice to others which may be equally important. No doubt those who discuss my paper will add others to the list.

I. INDIVIDUAL TRAITS, REPRESSIONS AND RELEASES

1. The mental levels of farm populations.
2. The characteristics attitudes of rural people as indicated above.
3. Neuroses and psychoses, mental and emotional normality and abnormality, of the rural population.
4. Factors exercising repressions and inhibitions in character building.
5. The normal releases—problems in mental hygiene

II. PSYCHO-SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF COMMUNICATION AND CONTROL

6. Urban propaganda agencies influencing rural behavior and theories.
7. Organizations growing directly out of rural interests for the control of rural opinion—rural social self-control.
8. Local opinion-making agencies—including methods and institutions concerned.
9. Effectiveness of rural control agencies relative to the cost of procedure.
10. Demotic distribution and constitution as they affect rural communication and public opinion making.
11. Transportation means affecting rural communication and public opinion making.
12. Degree and kinds of education affecting rural communication and public opinion making
13. Programs of local organizations relative to efficiency of rural social control.
14. Demotic constitution and distribution in relation to efficiency of rural social control.

15. Schools, churches, clubs, and commercialized amusements as moral and social orientation agencies.

16. Agencies, means, methods and contents of rural communication.

17. Urban financial control of rural public opinion.

III. THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENTS AND RURAL ATTITUDES

18. Mechanical inventions and rural social and mental life.

19. Classification of the phases of rural psychosocial environment

20. Relative social incidence of the environments.

21. Influence of the several environments upon culture.

22. Rural mores and folkways.

23. Causes of inferiority attitudes of rural people.

24. Social effects of inferiority attitudes.

25. Rural reading habits, amusements, contacts, etc.

IV. RURAL LIFE ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL

26. Local groups—their organization, structure, mechanisms, social results, etc

27. Overhead or derivative social organizations as they affect rural life.

28. Derivative ideals in rural life—sources, power, methods, acceptability, etc.

29. Transformation of rural institutions by derivative organization and ideals.

30. Transformation of rural primary attitudes by derivative ideals.

31. Effect of mobility of rural population upon rural institutions.

32. Effect of rural mobility upon rural standards and ideals.

33. Effect of rural mobility upon rural efficiency.

DISCUSSION I.

C. E. LIVELY

WITH THE content and point of view of Professor Bernard's paper I find myself in hearty agreement. I shall attempt only to amplify it in places and to tie it up more effectively with the rural situation.

So far as the inherited aspect of rural social psychology is concerned, rural sociologists must for the present rely upon the bio-psychologist and bio-sociologist, the neurologist and the medical sociologist. Nevertheless we should familiarize ourselves sufficiently with their researches so that we may base our own researches upon sound theories in this regard and also effectively combat false rural doctrines of which there is such an abundance.

With regard to acquired traits, Professor Bernard clearly indicates the trunk lines leading to environmental analysis and classification. In effect he says we must analyze these various rural environments, the mechanisms by which they affect personality and the consequent results of the process upon human nature in the country; for country people are different because country environments are different and the mechanisms for environmental transmission in the country are different from those to be found elsewhere. Some of the major environmental differences he has indicated. The mechanisms of transmission vary from the face to face mechanisms of spoken word and facial expression—almost the only type exist-

ing in the remote rural sections—to the indirect environmental organizations, such as radio, which extend from individual to state, nation and world. In no other fraction of our national society does there exist such a wide range of differences in this respect, inviting us to classify, analyze and compare the distribution, type of influence and effectiveness of the numerous mechanisms by means of which environment builds up what we call human nature.

For a long time we have recognized these facts in a large way, but even now we are able to go but little further. There is an expressed belief that the country is the best place to rear a child if he doesn't remain there too long, say after his middle teens. Is this true? If so, why? What traits does the rural environment supply which are not supplied elsewhere? Which of these are desirable and which are undesirable? How may the undesirable traits be removed and the deficiencies be supplied without impairing the desirable traits? These are questions which we shall be unable to answer without long and painstaking research. We must boldly attack them, however, if we are to make progress toward the scientific production of human nature. Plant and animal husbandry with their comparatively simple problems of controlled breeding and physical and biological environmental factors are now able to produce a scientific product. They know more about these environments in relation to plant and animal production than we know about them in relation to human production. A rural autobiographer states that the lake by his boyhood home had a profound influence in preparing him for an "unusually strenuous and difficult life." Did it or did it not? G. Stanley Hall says that boyhood association with farm animals first interested him in the problems of psychology. Just what is the influence of farm animals upon child life anyway?

But while these physical and biological factors are important, as Professor Bernard says, our big problem lies with the psycho-social environment. Here we are in a field distinctly human, for though animal husbandry occasionally mentions the emotional complexes and esthetic surroundings of the dairy cow, that animal may be said to have no psycho-social environment.

The psycho-social environment of the country is simpler than that of the city and its character-

istics and mechanisms of transmission are different. We know very little about its traits and effectiveness as yet, though we suspect certain things. A recent study of the reading done by rural school pupils disclosed that the type of school, whether one-room or consolidated, made no appreciable difference in the type of reading done. The amount of trash read and preferred was great. What determines rural reading habits anyhow? In my own case I made the transition almost directly from hundreds of five-cent "Diamond Dicks" to science, missing most of the classics which we conventionally urge as essential. Is that a good or bad method of developing scientists?

In the field of personal traits of the farmer affecting his responses to behavior mechanisms, a recent study of the comparative effectiveness of different methods of propaganda for rural school improvement is suggestive. We need to study the responses of the farmer to the techniques and methods used by the big farmers' organizations, extension service and the like. Why did the "Covered Wagon" movement secure such a response? Why the present attitude on child labor? Why do boys and girls clubs fail to get boys?

I should like to see systematic study of what happens to the rural mores when an industrial center is established in rural territory. Such a study would contribute much toward our understanding of what happens in the process of urbanizing the country.

We need a thorough study of such overhead agencies as state and national farm organizations. I suggest as a tentative outline of study (1) the aims and purposes for which organized, (2) the machinery of organization, (3) the program of work, (4) the techniques employed, and (5) the results secured. The extension service is a good example of a huge body of social machinery reaching its tentacles into rural communities everywhere but uncertain as to its goals, its methods or its results. The whole thing needs to be studied as a whole and in its several parts, its aims clarified, its techniques and its results understood and evaluated.

The methods to be employed are numerous. A few we know; many more must be devised. The statistical method will probably continue to be our best tool, the problem being one of deciding *what* to count. We should learn something from the

methods employed by the Merrill-Palmer School. Autobiography and diaries of country people should be of use. Such human documents probably exist as well as do such long time farm records as are being brought to light. Our modern variations of the LePlay monographic method will be found useful. The historical method will disclose much as the documentation of rural affairs accumulates. The geographic, or ecological, approach also has much in its favor for the study

of rural life as well as urban life. Systematic study of the geographic distribution by communities of individual ascendancy within and from the rural environment as well as the social levels from which such individuals ascend would go far toward leading us to those communities where the social organization is favorable for the production of a first grade human product and also to those communities where mainly human culls are produced.

DISCUSSION: II

CARL C. TAYLOR

I AGREE so thoroughly with everything Dr. Bernard has stated in his paper, both in points of theory and suggestions for possible research, that I am going to attempt only to supplement what he has said.

Research is always conditioned by two chief problems: first the problem of knowing what is most important to discover and, second, the problem of knowing how to go about discovering it. All sciences, even the most exact sciences, are limited by their techniques and especially by their technologies, far more than they are by their phenomena. The field and science of psychology or social psychology is not the exception but the rule in these difficulties.

It seems to me that Dr. Bernard has named enough elements in behavior and listed enough problems for research to indicate that our troubles in this field arise chiefly from not having tackled the task of actually putting on researches in the field. With this conviction in mind I shall use my time in attempting to suggest in a little more detail than Dr. Bernard had time to do, how we might investigate some of the phenomena he has listed. The three I have chosen are culturalization or its opposite, isolation, mores in rural life, and variant types of rural group behavior.

Under culturalization and isolation I would include all facts of isolation and socialization and all facts and factors leading from the one to the other. This would require an analysis on a considerably larger or wider base than any of our researches in this field that have yet been

launched. It would demand (1) a study of the means and practices of transportation and communication, (2) a study of the infiltration and assimilation of urban or other exogenous ideas and attitudes; (3) a study of the institutions, both borrowed and indigenous, and institutionalization processes; (4) a study of the development and impingement of specific public opinions, and (5) a study of the recombination or reintegration of rural communities and neighborhoods.

As I have just said, the study of any problem that will make a real contribution to the field of psychology or social psychology will need to be on a broader base than any of us have yet operated in our researches in this field. I would suggest for this a study encompassing the life of the people of the Southern Appalachian mountains in their dire isolation and then reaching through other rural groups, graduated in socialization from these mountaineers all the way to suburban or even urban centers. Here these people are and here their lives are lived. No study, however, of a community, county or even state will suffice to find the facts. We will be studying processes and development and so must follow wherever the processes lead. Socio-psychological processes are cumulative and any study of them will have to cover either a long period of time in one group or a wide range of groups.

The techniques for such an investigation would be those well known to other fields of research—statistics, of course, historical and documentary sources, psychological tests of all kinds, and the

techniques of "the participant observer" mentioned by Professor Lindeman in his book "Social Discovery." We may not all be sold on the psychological tests as a trustworthy measure of native ability. I am not myself. Nevertheless, psychological tests can be used in the study of ideas, attitudes and other reactions. Dr. Park, of the University of Chicago, is working on the study of attitudes and Dr. Thomas has been working on them for years.

Professor White of Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, Mr. Zimmerman of the University of Minnesota, and Professor Lively of Ohio State University, have all started studies which attempt to correlate psychological and other factors in rural life. We think we know how to study and analyse institutions. Counting, tabulation and correlation processes are easy. There are undoubtedly hundreds of diaries and other documents lying around in rural homes which would furnish rich material.

Men like Dr. Clark Wissler have made studies of cultural traits in other media and we can study these unit characters in rural life if we will but launch our studies on a wide enough base and apply methods already being used in other fields.

We could make some headway in studying Dr. Bernard's three general types of environment and their relative influences in rural life. The life of rural people is simpler and their behavior and attitudes are more pronounced.

The method of the participant observer is already being used successfully by novelists and descriptive writers. Kephart, Campbell and Frost have written about the Southern Highlanders authoritatively because of having lived among them with eyes open. A scientist could do the same thing.

My time will not permit an elaboration of the other two studies which I proposed in the outset. A study of the operation of mores would demand the same elaborate scope and careful study which I have just suggested. The study of variant types of rural life and rural communities would be on the basis of the difference between attitudes, behavior and social organization of dairying, truck growing, horticulture, live stock, and cropping areas. Mental levels could be studied. Degrees of urbanization could be studied. A study of the growth of institutions out of the economic and social life would be a contribution to the whole field of social psychology.

We can do these things if we will. Methods and areas are known with which we could start tomorrow if we had the money and personnel to conduct the researches. Furthermore the analysis in rural life would be easier than in any other type of social existence. Rural life is comparatively simple. The social and psychological types are pronounced. The changes generally take place more slowly. The sources of behavior are generally more easily traced.

The three outstanding things we need to guarantee the success of such studies are, first, a cooperative or common understanding of the problems. We need to be better social psychologists ourselves. Second, a wide base upon which to operate, something like the study which Dr. Galpin and Dr. Kirkpatrick are now carrying on in various states on the Rural Standard of Living is needed; and, third, the development of a public opinion which will sanction a study of rural human behavior in the same way that it now sanctions studies in farm production and agricultural economics.

KNOW YOUR HOME STATE. DISCUSSION III

S. H. HOBBS, JR.

THIS short discussion is simply a brief outline of two points concerning the *Know Your Home State* movement: (1) How a State May Come to Know Itself; and (2) What a Rural Sociologist Should Know About His Home State.

I. HOW A STATE MAY COME TO KNOW ITSELF

The Department of Rural Social-Economics at the University of North Carolina has pioneered in the effort to acquaint the home folk with their home state. For eleven years this department has been interpreting North Carolina, economic,

social, civic, to the people, so that today it is very probable that there is no other state in the Union in which the people are better acquainted with the economic, social and civic affairs of the state as in North Carolina. Therefore, as illustrative of the first point I am going to outline briefly some methods and agencies employed by the department in its *Know North Carolina* program.

First, there is the *University News Letter* which appears weekly and carries to seventeen thousand readers and leaders the findings of the research students and editors. Almost every week there appears a table which ranks either the counties of the state, or the states of the Union, in some important matter. These tables are always briefly and simply interpreted. Thus the counties can see themselves in contrast with other counties, and the state does not have to guess as to how it compares with other states. More than one thousand such tables and interpretations, along with additional thousands of brief squibs, have gone to the people. The results are manifest on every hand.

The North Carolina Club is composed of from fifty to one hundred students and faculty members who meet for one hour fortnightly to discuss the vital economic and social problems facing the state, all of which the rural sociologist should be perfectly familiar with. The club program is prepared in advance by the department, and each student who chooses a subject to report on does his work under the supervision of the teaching staff. At the end of the year the reports are edited and published in the club year-book, which goes free to the people of the state.

At the university students are organized into county clubs. These clubs are being used as agencies through which county bulletins are prepared and distributed to the home folk. Thus the students while at the university come to know in detail their home county and thus they are in a better position to become more capable leaders when they return home. County studies have been made for every county in the state, and complete bulletins issued, or ready for the press, for about twenty-five counties. Ultimately we hope to have an economic, social, and historic bulletin for every county, to be followed by others

from time to time, thus accumulating a complete record for each county in the state.

The department library centers about North Carolina and contains the best collection of information about the home state of any that I know about. The library is the workshop of the students, and the storehouse of information about the state, details of which we are called upon to furnish to thousands of people annually.

Know North Carolina is the title of a college credit course on the home state; economic and social; and so far as we know it is the only course of its nature given in any college in America. This course is taught in four different ways: (1) to regular campus classes, (2) by extension in organized class centers, mainly to public school teachers, (3) by correspondence to individual students, and (4) to hundreds of women whose clubs elect to study North Carolina through the use of the program and materials furnished by the extension division.

II. WHAT A RURAL SOCIOLOGIST SHOULD KNOW ABOUT HIS HOME STATE

In a rural state such as is the rule in the South and West it seems that leadership in economic and social reforms is properly vested in the rural economist or rural sociologist, or better still, in the rural social-economist. There ought to be a department of rural social-economics (another name may be substituted) in every state of the Union. This is especially true for the South and West, where the states are usually rural. The men who are to head up such departments should know their field from a technical point of view, but their knowledge should extend beyond mere technical training. The rural sociologist should know intimately the state which he is serving as no one else does. His is the department which deals with certain specialized economic and social problems of the state. In order to deal wisely with those problems he must have a background of knowledge about local conditions. There is nothing that concerns the state he can afford not to know if it can be learned. To begin with, the rural sociologist or rural economist who sets himself up as the constructive agent in a state should know at least the following things about the state he is to serve:

(1) Natural Resources. Soils, seasons, water-power, forests, minerals, and so on. He should know more about the basic resources of the state than any other person in the state.

(2) Geography and Places. He should know in detail the geography and physiography of the state and how they influence life and livelihood.

(3) He should know intimately the economic foundation of the state,—agriculture, industry, transportation, banking, and so on.

(4) He should know in detail the history of the state. He should understand the temper and character of the people, their likes and dislikes. He should know the people so well as to be able to select from the ideally desirable things those that are practically possible. Measures that are timely in one state may not be acceptable in another states.

(5) He should know the administrative problems of the state, urban as well as rural. The rural sociologist has an excellent opportunity to head up reform measures that will remedy the weak spots in government, to seek out sources of revenue that will not cripple industry, and so on.

In short the rural sociologist must know the state that is in order to know the state that can be.

THE WORK OF COMMITTEE ON SCIENTIFIC PROBLEMS OF HUMAN MIGRATION, NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

Scientific study of the "mass-movements of humanity," of which we have been made increasingly aware since the World War, calls for the development of a new technique and a new methodology. The Committee on Scientific Problems of Human Migration, appointed in October 1922 by the National Research Council, has developed a research program based upon "well-

considered efforts to develop and improve methods of mental measurement for comparative studies of ethnic and other human groups" and the conviction that "certain of the fundamental biological, social and economic problems of human migration should be attacked."

This program has been carried out along three lines—psychological, anthropological, and social and economic. In the psychological studies emphasis is placed upon the development of a new methodology in four interrelated inquiries: (1) Internationalizing or universalizing mental measurement; (2) study of primitive forms of human response; (3) analysis of human personality; (4) analysis and measurement of mechanical abilities. The two anthropological projects are based upon a study of physical characteristics—normal and pathological—in their relation to race and racial intermixture, while field surveys and the statistical method lay the foundation for the three studies in the social and economic section.

These studies, which call into action the combined and correlated efforts of the mental, biological and social sciences, should provide a scientific basis for the practical solution of the many problems of human migration.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL, INC.

The Social Science Research Council, Inc., announces the establishment of fellowships for research in the social sciences either in the United States or abroad. Any person "who gives evidence of exceptional ability in research and who has a project giving promise of definite scientific accomplishment" in the general field of social science is eligible for election. The term of appointment and the stipend are dependent in each case upon the nature and requirements of the project. For information address the secretary—F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota.

Inter-State Reports from the Fields of Public Welfare and Social Work

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

CHILD CARE THROUGH FAMILY AGENCIES

I. M. RUBINOW

THE general subject of this discussion is worded as follows: "Where shall children be brought up, in their own homes, in foster homes, or in institutions?" With the topic of the triangular debate thus worded, the family agency has almost undue advantage. For both sociological theory and public opinion at large continue to consider the normal family unit the best place for raising a normal child. Among the numerous definitions of what constitutes family case work—a term that is rapidly displacing the earlier terms of organized charity or relief—the preservation of the family unit is gaining in popularity. This point of view is not necessarily predicated upon any naive idealization of the organization of modern family. Family case workers are only too familiar with the numerous domestic difficulties to be guilty of such idealization. If, nevertheless, they continue to work for the preservation of the family unit, I believe it is largely based upon consideration of the interest of the children. Whatever the future may bring, nowhere at present is it seriously proposed to substitute group care for family care. Russia has tried it, but only as a sensational demonstration in the heat of revolutionary enthusiasm.

Normal children can best be brought up in normal families. This, for our purposes, may be accepted as axiomatic as it is impossible to go into general sociological theory for the purpose of proving this thesis. But family relief agencies do not as a rule deal with normal families. The very fact that contact with the family by a relief agency exists, indicates some disturbance of normal conditions, whether physiological, mental, economic or social. The decision whether or not to preserve the family unit which daily concerns a family agency in its work, must, there-

fore, be based upon many considerations: the determination as to what constitutes minimum normal family conditions, the appraisal of the individual situation in the particular family, and finally its willingness and ability to raise to the minimum standard, to eliminate the disturbing factors which have reduced the family to a sub-normal standard. Thus, the problem of selections between the three methods of child care is one of the most vital problems with which a family agency is called upon to deal.

The situation is particularly well defined in the case of the Jewish Welfare Society of Philadelphia, of which I have the honor to be the Executive. Because of the strong coherence between all the Jewish social agencies in the city of Philadelphia through the Federation of Jewish Charities, placement of children is not allowed to become a matter of competition between various agencies. A thorough understanding exists, in virtue of which the family case agency investigates all applications for placement. In other words, an application by or on behalf of a family for the placement of children is given no more weight than a patient's story of his symptoms, never accurate, often exaggerated, but always valuable as a help to the physician in his diagnosis and treatment of the case. Often the necessity for placement exists, but much more often it can be avoided provided normal family conditions can be preserved, or re-established. Broadly and with many qualifications, it is still true that the decision to place children, whether it be in an institution or in a foster home, is an admission of failure on the part of the family agency, a failure that may be inevitable and beyond the power of the agency to avoid, but a failure, nevertheless.

But, prevention of placement is not the only duty of a family agency towards the children. The placement may have been prevented, the placement may never have been considered, the normal development of the children remains the heaviest responsibility of the agency. The point of view which contrasts family agencies and child care agencies is based upon a misunderstanding. The Jewish community of Philadelphia may be taken as an illustration. The total population of the various child caring institutions and agencies of that community does not exceed 900, while the Jewish Welfare Society at any one time has a case load of some 1,000 families with some 3,000 children. Throughout any one year, it comes in contact with some 2,000 families and 6,000 children, (as against some 1,400 in all special child caring institutions. Probably the same numerical proportion holds true of other communities as well) or four times as many.

The problem of the abnormal or subnormal child must be eliminated from this discussion. If the child is physically, mentally or morally handicapped, and the treatment of such handicap requires special facilities, the average normal family cannot be expected to provide it. Whether a child with anti-social tendencies can best be taken care of in institutions or special foster homes, is a problem for child experts rather than a family agency, just as much as a problem of best care for a tubercular child must be decided by experts in tuberculosis. Neither is the average family adjusted for custodial care of mental defectives below a certain grade. In an effort to preserve the normal family unit, we must assume children of average normality, if this term may be permitted. I prefer the term to avoid the danger of confusing the average with the theoretically normal, which is often interpreted to be the equivalent of the ideal. While psychiatrists, psychologists, mental hygienists and educators may all struggle in their efforts to define the normal child, public opinion or common sense or whatever you may call it, must recognize the numerous deviations which may be no more than ordinary manifestations of personality differences, and which are accepted and will continue to be accepted as normal conditions in ordinary family life.

Nor are we called upon to construct an excessively high ideal conception of the normal family, the application of which might lead us to condemn the vast majority of family units as unfit places for the raising of children. We must, however, clearly define the minimum normal standards and having defined them, diagnose their existence or absence in the individual unit, and do all we can to preserve or reconstruct or at least find acceptable substitutes for them.

What are these minimum normal standards?

The existence of at least one parent.

An income sufficient to furnish the minimum standards of health, efficiency and comfort.

A minimum standard of domestic peace.

Absence of danger of contagion, whether it be bacterial, psychotic or normal.

Some of these factors the family itself must furnish, but if all of them exist, the chances are that the family will never come in contact with a social agency. It becomes the function of the agency not only to diagnose the conditions but to eliminate some and furnish others.

In stating the first of the conditions, the word "parent" rather than "mother" was used intentionally. Frequently, families were broken up and children placed because of the absence of the mother, when such break-ups can't be prevented. Male widowhood will probably remain an important factor in causing placement of children. Patriarchal family is gone. With the reduction of a family unit to its two essential elements, parents and children, and the separation of workshop and home, the death of a mother creates a situation which seldom can be met except by placement. The frantic efforts of many social agencies to preserve responsibility of aunts and sisters-in-law are bound to meet failure, because they are contrary to modern civilization. Such families can only be preserved through re-marriage, and no matter how varied the functions of a family case agency may be, the operation of a matrimonial bureau is not one of them. There is, however, a large and distinct group of cases which, in the experience of the Jewish community of Philadelphia, has called for placements which can and should be eliminated. These are the temporary placements of children because of absence of the mother, usually through illness and necessary hospital care, confinement, gynecolog-

ical operations, and even sanatorium care for tuberculosis or other chronic conditions. These are frequent occurrences within that part of the population which always lives on a narrow margin. Usually, these situations occur suddenly, or at least the family is confronted with them suddenly. The father faces the alternative of either neglecting his children or abandoning his position. Placement offers itself as an easy way out and is often resorted to. Temporary placements of children constitute a substantial proportion of the work of our child placing agencies. It is the obvious thing to do in absence of a different plan, but it has its serious shortcomings and even dangers. It is complicated and often expensive. Experience has shown that out of these temporary placements, necessity for permanent placement frequently arises. During the last year a new method of handling such cases has been tried out with the Jewish Welfare Society, and proved to be so successful that an effort will be made in the future to apply this method to all cases where temporary placement would be the only alternative. The method consists in sending a substitute for the mother, a working housekeeper who assumes the duty not only of the housework but also physical and moral care of the children. In the short time the system has been in force, several very distressing situations were quickly and efficiently met.

This group of cases was mentioned first because it represents the latest development of child welfare work through family agencies. The bulk of the work, however, remains in dealing with very much graver situations arising out of absence of the wage worker, and the resulting financial problems. The widow, the deserted woman, the wife of the committed insane, the wife of the victim of tuberculosis or of any other serious chronic disability, these constitute the bulk of the relief work of our agency. They absorb and must absorb the largest part of our budget, in our efforts to prevent unnecessary break-up of families. Sixty-one per cent of our relief families fall into these groups. Sixty-six per cent of our relief budget is devoted to them. The 150 families have from 500 to 600 children. They represent an annual outlay of some \$75,000. To this must be added the 80 odd families cared for by the Orphans' Guardian Society, with 300 children,

and expenditures of \$75,000, making a total of \$150,000. It is from the abnormal families of this type that the greatest pressure for the placement of children usually comes. The Jewish community of Philadelphia, having decided that these family units can and ought to be preserved, cheerfully assumes the financial burden, without which the break-up would be inevitable.

That the widowed family should be preserved intact is almost universally admitted. Compensation legislation and widows' pension legislation indicate the decision of modern society to make provision for half-orphans very much different from that which governed the large endowments for orphan asylums of many years ago. If the Jewish Welfare Society and many other social agencies are still forced to devote most of their work and their funds to the same problem, it is because the theoretical recognition of the rights of widows and half-orphans has not yet led to legislation sufficiently liberal to make private relief effort unnecessary. It is, I believe, the duty of social agencies and social workers to point out the inadequacy of legislative provision. But, it is also their duty to force organized charity to make such liberal provision voluntarily, so long as legislative provision remains insufficient. For, after all, I take that to be the guiding principle of social work as a whole. The voluntary communal assumption of social obligations, which always does and must run ahead of compulsory assumption, the accomplishment by voluntary self-taxation of such duties as compulsory taxation is unable or unwilling to assume.

Under present appropriation, the Mothers' Assistance Fund admittedly does about a 50 per cent job. The average waiting period until a widow, who may comply with all other legal requirements, can be put on the payroll of the Mothers' Assistance Fund is from 18 months to two years. If you consider that compensation legislation usually began with a waiting period of 2 or 3 weeks, that this waiting period proved to be entirely too long, and under pressure from labor as well as from legislative experts the waiting period was reduced in most of the states to 7 days, the comparison will indicate the serious nature of the problem which the Mothers' Assistance Fund system is still unable to meet. Those who are in charge of the system are fully aware

of the situation, but the insufficient appropriation leaves them no choice in the matter. Widows must be placed on the rolls of the Fund in proper order, without any influence or bias, though I often thought that it would have been better social justice if all the widowed families could be immediately provided even if it were necessary to drop an old family each time a new claim arises. For surely, the first two years of widowhood are those that present the most difficult problem of financial adjustment.

Until the appropriation has been raised to the necessary amount, the Jewish community through the Jewish Welfare Society meets the obligation with the result that no Jewish family in Philadelphia has to be broken up in consequence of an untimely death of the breadwinner.

Many of our families thus taken care of for some reason or other can never comply with the legal requirements of the Mothers' Assistance Fund. These must be carried along until the children are old enough to make the family self-supporting. There are others who in due course of time are taken over by the Mothers' Assistance Fund. Of our 50 to 60 widowed families, some 20 have reached that point and have, nevertheless, remained beneficiaries of our agency as well. The wisdom of this procedure has been questioned, and therefore the theory underlying it must be stated. I began with a statement that if children are to be brought up in their own home, that home must offer the minimum, normal economic standard. And yet, the scale provided for by the Mothers' Assistance Fund does not offer such a minimum standard in families containing no other breadwinners. If we are to insist that the children should remain with their mother in order to preserve for them the normal spiritual atmosphere of family cohesion and affection, such as no substitute can offer, this must not be accomplished at the expense of minimum physical well being. The spiritual values will mean very little if the children in their own homes must suffer from want, malnutrition, or bad housing. It may be impossible to offer these children in their own homes all the comforts, and even luxuries which are within reach of wealthy orphan institutions. It may be undesirable as well as impossible to do that. It is not the duty of society, and it is a mistake on the part of private philan-

thropists to put an economic premium upon widowhood, orphanage or dependency in general. It should not be the duty of relief agencies, in dealing with dependent families, to raise their standard of living above the average normal standard of the masses at large. But a physiological standard of health, decency and efficiency must be preserved. In many families the scale of the Mothers' Assistance Fund does not guarantee these elemental needs. Until these standards are raised, the Jewish Welfare Society will continue to supplement the state and county allowance. The situation is only met half way, if with such allowance the mother is still compelled to go out to work and neglect the very purpose for which widows' pensions have been established, namely, devote themselves to the care of their children. A woman's career is a possibility in the middle classes, where the earning capacity of the professional woman is sufficiently high to allow for employment of help. It may be possible that only with one or two children (in which case, as a matter of fact, the Mothers' Assistance Fund does not render any assistance) day nurseries may be utilized as a makeshift, particularly in case of deserted women where an ample budget may prove as a factor of demoralization and pauperization. But a good old-fashioned family with four children or more is entitled to a full time mother, and a full time mother can do a fairly good job only with an ample budget. Information as to costs of living and necessary minimum standards is readily available. A comparison of the scale of the Mothers' Assistance Fund with such minimum standards readily discloses the inadequacy of the former. The Jewish Welfare Society tested its own family budget by comparison with such standards as the budget of the Bureau of Municipal Research. In offering our families a budget of about 85 per cent of the standard budget, we feel that we have struck a fairly safe road between inadequacy and excessive liberality.

Personally, I believe that much more shocking is the necessity we find ourselves under of supplementing widows receiving compensation. The Mothers' Assistance Fund scale of compensation, though not the most liberal, probably compares favorably with a good many other state acts. Moreover, it is a comparatively new venture in

social legislation which is still in its development. Compensation for industrial accidents is not a social grant so much as it is a recognition of a definite legal and moral liability. I do not intend to go into details of the discussion of the Pennsylvania Compensation Act, as this is a topic to be discussed authoritatively later. But, I do want to go on record as saying that in the vast majority of cases, particularly in fatal cases, the scale of compensation under the Compensation Law is hopelessly inadequate and we are called upon to supplement it.

Now I know that the wisdom of supplementing Mothers' Assistance Fund or compensation grants, of meeting the needs of a waiting period has been questioned. It is argued that in thus meeting a responsibility which the state has failed to meet, we are simply relieving the state of its liability and delaying the day of greater social justice through legislation; that the failure to relieve the need would act as a greater stimulus to our legislators to furnish the necessary legislative amendments and appropriations. I am not going to raise the question whether the assumption of the degree of sensibility on the part of our legislators to existing social needs, upon which this criticism is based, is justifiable or not. I am too new a man in this state to have a personal knowledge, nor has anyone of the legislators, as far as I know, in this state or in any other, been ever subjected to psychometric examinations to test their sensibility to moral issues. But, I feel that through the methods of family care and financial relief, the social agencies are in a much better position to bring to the surface the inadequacies of existing legislation, than would be isolated families overworked and underfed widows. After all, it has not been the sum total of individual complaints, but a systematic investigation and agitation by organized social agencies that has given us such legislation as we have. Be that, however, as it may, my philosophy of social work is not based upon the necessity of stimulation or leaving unprovided for, individual suffering for the purpose of social demonstration. Social conscience should not stand by and remain indifferent to the break-up of families now, for the purpose of stimulating better provision for the future.

It may be comparatively easy to furnish a temporary substitute for the housekeeper and mother. The decision to furnish the necessary minimum income calls for considerable communal expenditure, but after all there is no reason to think that what the Jewish community can accomplish is beyond the means of the entire city of Philadelphia. Thus, the physical and economic standards can be reconstructed. The mental, moral or social deficiencies of the family often present a situation that is very much more complex. It is upon the existence of such problems or shortcomings in the standard that a movement for placement of children usually arises, where judgment is required as to the comparative advantages of the three plans, the original family, the foster family, or an institution.

It is obviously impossible within the limits of a brief paper to present an answer to these complicated problems. How low can we allow the standards of the family to sink before the decision is reached that a placement has become necessary? How much should the physical advantages of institutional care, which are often obvious and pronounced, weigh against the possible spiritual advantages in a normal family unit? What is the comparative value of mother love as against a gymnasium and swimming pool in a well organized institution? Those are not simple questions and it is a pity that they are usually answered from an emotional rather than a scientific point of view. But, I have preferred at this time to make one point rather than try to make many and fail.

However, that much may be said in a very few words. The non-material factors are of tremendous importance. The simple determination and grant of the family budget may meet the economic problem, but may leave all other problems unanswered. If a family case agency is to make any claim that it remains the most important child caring agency of any social organization, it can only support the claim by demonstration that through careful case work it makes an effort to meet these non-material problems. The comparative efficiency of the three types of agencies, family agency, foster home agency, and institutions, in dealing with the problem of child welfare cannot be based upon dollars and cents alone. It must be based upon the evidence that through

family case work, scientific child welfare may be practiced as carefully as in institutions. It was largely the possibility of utilizing case work method through private agencies that influenced a group of social workers to oppose the widows' pension movement some years ago. There appears to be some justification for the point of view, because governmental efforts seem to carry with it only distribution of moneys without any case work methods to control it. That, for instance, still remains the situation in most of our compensation legislation. But, this is not true at present of our Mothers' Assistance Fund, which, at least in Pennsylvania, are family case agencies in the full sense of the word. It is for this reason that social workers have a right to be disturbed by the danger of reversion to the system of public grants to widows through the courts without any control through family case methods. And yet, so long as the Mothers'

Assistance Fund is only able to do a fifty per cent job, so long as there will be widowed families without any possible means of support, the unenlightened opinion of the community will welcome any method of relieving economic need, and will be very impatient about any suggestions that the crudeness of the method may result in more detriment than good to the children. The situation which confronts the city of Philadelphia at this time in regard to the care of widowed families can be met only in one way, if voluntarily and through private channels, the necessary funds would be made available to supplement the work of the Mothers' Assistance Fund until the community is ready to meet that through the method of taxation. Should we allow our methods of relief of needy families to revert to the old and discredited system of promiscuous outdoor relief, then the inevitable result will be a reaction in favor of institutional care.

EXPLORING FOR THE CAUSES OF CRIME

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

TO KNOW the nature of crime it is necessary to understand the criminal. To understand a criminal one must obtain his life history, not simply as others have known him, but primarily his own statement of his interesting experiences. The main reservoir of data about crime is to be found in the *personal experiences* of criminals. These are largely unsurveyed fields for exploration.

Of course all the statistical data about age, sex, economic conditions, police records, and so on, are invaluable in helping to locate the problem of crime. Moreover, we must have all the data that the medical examination, the intelligence tests, the psychiatrist's diagnosis, and the social worker's reports can give. And yet in the case of criminals above the moron level, to the extent that we do not have a full, free, complete, and accurate statement of their personal experiences, even reaching back into their childhood's experiences if need be, we will continue to talk about crime in a formal way, and to seek in vain for a complete understanding of the causes of crime.

In personal experiences are the keys to all knowledge. By these the criminal's underlying *attitudes* of life are made; by these more than anything else his opinions and his acts are motivated. When traced to their origins the basic explanation of the crimes of a person who is at all normal mentally are to be found first of all in the experiences which have gone into the make-up of his personality. His ideas, beliefs, sentiments, spring from his personal experiences. His convictions, points of view, and his interpretations of life are experience-made.

Like the rest of us, the criminal does not necessarily interpret life according to the *facts*, but according to his *experiences*. The most important things concerning a criminal are not the formal facts of his life but *how he has interpreted those facts*. The sources of all these interpretations are found in his experiences. Hence, if we can get a natural history of the criminal's experiences leading up to the commission of his offense or offenses against society, we not only obtain basic facts about him, but far more important, we have en-

compassed the sources of his interpretations of the facts, and hence we have reached the heart of the causes of his crime. We also have the main clues for working out a successful program of crime prevention.

The importance of obtaining the natural history of the personal experiences of criminals can scarcely be over-emphasized. Personal experiences are the creators of both personality and of civilization—at their worst as well as at their best. They furnish the problems as well as the stimuli of both personal and group life. To them we turn whenever we wish to penetrate to first causes, or search for the deepest meanings of any human problem. Philosophy, even a criminal's philosophy of life, is necessarily more or less autobiographical, the reflective essence of one's daily experiences.¹

To get single experiences of a criminal is not enough. It is the *whole life history of experiences* that is needed. It is the natural history of his inner life that we must have if we would understand the causes of crime. It is in the *sequence* of personal experiences that we get the real evolution of the criminal's behavior. It is in these sequences that we get a complete picture of him and of the motivating causes of his conduct at work.

The natural life history of a person given in a narrative or letter form, telling all, giving a full, free, and complete statement of his important experiences, of his unusual experiences, is now considered the main source of sociological data.² It is not enough to get an intellectual life history; it is the feeling or affective life history with all its feeling reactions to repressions, and with all its aversions that is needed. To get this life history accurately and in a way to stand corroboration is by no means easy. To get it from a criminal is especially difficult. It will not be told to an ordinary investigator, for the latter has no understanding of how to get it. It will not be given to the ordinary police officer, for the latter is considered an "enemy," and personal experiences are not related freely to enemies or to strangers. Not many social workers know how to go about getting a natural history of an individual's per-

sonal experiences; they are not always trained to penetrate the wall of defense mechanisms which are likely to be set up.

In fact, very few attempts have so far been made to get the life history of the significant experiences of a criminal. Nearly all investigators have gathered what statistical and formal data they could, have used anthropometric measurements and intelligence tests, but have stopped short of the innermost data, the truly explanatory data, the hidden whirlpools of experiences wherein criminal behavior is generated.

It is not thought for a moment that the criminal himself can give accurately the causes of his crime. He often does not know them. He cannot be relied upon to interpret his own attitudes. But if he will relate his experiences, the social research investigator can work out the interpretations and analyses.

This personal experience method of studying crime that the sociologist urges is not a substitute. All the statistical and measurement data that are available are needed. They will help first to set off the mentally defective, the insane, and so forth, for whom continuous adult direction and control are needed. They will outline after the manner of a surveyor the knotty problems of criminal behavior. But behind the tests and measurements that science has so far developed there still remain the warm human feelings, desires, sentiments, the habits, in short, human nature as it has throbbed forth and fallen back under the impact of social contacts, as it has been repressed, as it has not been trained in proper inhibitions, and as it has developed aversions.

As far as this sociological method has been developed within recent years of studying life histories of personal experiences, it indicates that crime among criminals above the moron level is due to faulty individual attempts to satisfy the basic urges or desires of life, such as the urge for new experience, the urge for security, the urge for response, the urge for recognition.³ Criminal acts seem to result when one or more of these inner urges are unduly or improperly thwarted or suppressed or are not trained in proper inhibitions, and hence lead into or burst into anti-social behavior or crime.

¹ Cf. H. B. Alexander, *Nature and Human Nature*, (Open Court Pub. Co., 1923), p. 458.

² Life histories as the object of investigation were first developed by Robert E. Park, University of Chicago.

³ Cf. Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl* (Little, Brown & Co., 1923), Ch. II.

A crime is an act against public opinion or what public opinion has put into a law. It arises out of a conflict between the individual's inner urges to behavior and the group verdict as to what behavior is good for its own welfare. The prevention of crime lies along the line of adjustment of

inherited inner urges and group rules or laws. The former need to be rationalized and socialized, and the latter rationalized and individualized, that is, made to meet the individual needs for personal growth and constructive participation in group advance.

GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

The health officer, as he looks at the changes in birth and death rates that his efforts have helped to bring about, is faced with a disquieting paradox. The social theories under which he works are humanitarian, leading toward the end of war, early death, and other checks on man's reproductive power; but the biological facts are brutal, pointing to the universal catastrophe of over-population by inferior stocks. M. P. Ravenel, writing in the December *American Journal of Public Health*, see the conflict between "Evolution and Preventive Medicine" as an all but insoluble problem. It may be that we shall some day be forced to practices that are now ethically repugnant, but for the present health officers must continue a program which they can scarcely approve on biological grounds.

* * *

Cattaraugus County, New York, has been for two years the scene of a health demonstration that sets a high standard for other rural districts to follow. "Health to the Crossroads," Mary Ross calls it in the *Survey Graphic* for January 1, describing the varied activities that have been set on foot to educate a county of 72,000 people spread over 1,300 square miles in the meaning of community health and the way to get and keep it. Tuberculosis is one of the chief points of attack, and the roving nurses with their ubiquitous Fords its deadliest foes. The article is fully and amusingly illustrated.

* * *

A welfare federation is "The Community's General Staff," through which it gains complete knowledge of its resources and facts about the strength of the enemy, declares Dr. Haven Emerson in the same journal for January 15. Yet we have hardly made a beginning at studying the vital problems of health in our cities or carrying

through a really adequate campaign. . . . Neva R. Deardorff waxes ironic in comparing the actual conditions under which children are being adopted with the legal provisions intended to safeguard their well-being. Criminal carelessness on the part of social agencies and those who testify to the character of persons applying for custody have resulted in much injustice and cruelty to children, which only a new legal basis for adoption can remedy.

* * *

"The Prevention of Foundlings" in place of the casual indifference that usually passes for care is the practical ideal proposed by Dr. Julius Levy in the February *American City*. Through records of all hospital births, convalescent homes for nursing mothers, and a system of licensed foster-homes to which they can go afterwards, several New Jersey departments of health are making special efforts to keep all babies with their unmarried mothers for the first three months at least. This plan has greatly lowered the appalling death rate among those infants who would otherwise have been committed or surrendered to institutions by their mothers, and decreases the number of "true foundlings" who are abandoned outright. . . . A unique civic and social welfare exhibit held recently by the Central Council of Newton, Mass., is described in the same issue by Arthur Dunham.

* * *

The never-ending battle against venereal infection must make use of our present educational propaganda and all existing facilities for the diagnosis and treatment of disease. At the same time our main dependence ought to be on the training of personality. Individual character can be raised to truly social levels through the influence of parents, the play life of the child, and the right

understanding of adolescence. The control of this evil is primarily a moral question, as Sir Arthur Newsholme insists in the leading article of the December *Journal of Social Hygiene*. . . . Rachel Crowdy outlines the position of the League of Nations with regard to prostitution and the traffic in women and children in several countries of Europe. The January issue contains an extensive review by S. N. Rolfe of the various governmental policies touching on these problems, especially in Great Britain.

* * *

In the first article of the *Family* for January Amelia Sears considers "Case Work in a Changing World" at four stages of its development—individual service, service toward a disintegrating community, the coördinating power of family social work, and the form involving complex social adjustments—with a detailed example of each stage. . . . "Where Shall Children Be Brought Up?" asks Laura Merrill, dealing with problems of placement for those of various types and from various sorts of homes. . . . Nadia Thomas discusses "Recruiting and Training Volunteers"—recruiting by labor unions, teachers, and college agencies, and training in groups or individually. . . . Social work as an art and a profession, and some of the broader implications that lie in a thoughtful viewing of it, are treated by E. G. Steger in "Standards of Social Case Work."

* * *

Placement in homes versus institutional care for delinquent girls, with recognition of the genuine social values of the latter, is further discussed by Anne P. Hincks in the leading article of the February issue. . . . David C. Adie shows some of the services that private case work agencies can render to public agencies which have not yet found themselves or secured adequate support. . . . Organization and supervision of field work are dealt with from the viewpoint of the social agency by Ella H. MacKay, who takes up especially the problems involved in training prospective workers.

* * *

The American Labor Legislation Review for December devotes a section to old age pensions,

with articles by Governor Pinchot and Homer Folks among others, and particular emphasis on results of the brief enforcement of the recent act in Pennsylvania before it was declared unconstitutional. James H. Maurer, chairman of the Old Age Assistance Commission in that state, shows in an able study that the cost of state-wide pensions would be considerably less than that of the existing poorhouse system. The text of a "standard bill" is offered for use in other states.

* * *

The February *Playground* contains a symposium on "What Constitutes an Adequate Recreation Life?" for the child under eight, for the adolescent boy and girl, for young men and women, and for the middle-aged. . . . Elizabeth Kemper Adams writes entertainingly on "The Energies of Girls" and how to direct them into wholesome and profitable channels. . . . And "Recreational Activities for Girls—Other Than Physical" are discussed by Lester F. Scott, who suggests star-gazing, various handicrafts, amusing children, and intelligent appreciation of art and nature.

* * *

The hazards and rewards of public health nursing among the southern highlanders of Kentucky are the theme of Anne Ruth Medcalf's article "In the Line Fork Coutry" from the *Child Health Magazine* for December. . . . "Training Nursery School Workers," by Emma Stevenson, affords some interesting sidelights on the recent development of school for children under six in England. . . . And in "Rural Health," R. B. Norment, Jr., outlines some of the basic principles to be observed and agencies to be set up in maternity and child hygiene work.

* * *

Better Times for January 5 reviews the past year's social work in New York, under the headings of Coördination, Social Research, New Buildings Completed and Planned, Volunteer Training, Housing, Social Legislation, and Benefactions and Bequests. It contains also a short article on the organization of the new National Social Work Council, in which fifteen of the country's leading agencies have combined for mutual education and discussion of their common problems.

The Community and Neighborhood

This department is conducted by THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY CENTER ASSOCIATION, and is edited by Leroy E. Bowman, 503 Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York City.

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF DORCHESTER SCHOOL CENTER, BOSTON

ELEANOR TOUROFF GLUECK

THE MOST pertinent questions to ask of the organizer of a community center are: To what extent has the organization offered a common meeting ground for representatives of different faiths and opposing political ideas; is there, because of the center, a greater degree of common effort directed toward the needs affecting all the residents of the given area; and how much of the waste of contentious factional organizations has been eliminated through coördination and redirection of energies? The present study seeks to answer these questions for a genuine effort at community organization in a neighborhood of great factional difficulties, one replete with traditions of early America and particularly related to the town meeting institution of colonial days. The size of the problem is to be estimated from the difficulties described; the success of the center is to be measured as it slowly overcomes these difficulties. The facts of the situation are presented as such, not as in any possible fashion a reflection on the earnest advocates of any one of the laudable efforts at either group or community organization. It is only the partisan or the hasty and often the intellectualist investigator who condemns because a given product of social and historical development contains today seeds of dissension; or who concludes there is no such thing as community of effort because in a situation needing it most he does not find it fully developed and functioning perfectly when first established.

EDITOR'S NOTE: The National Community Center Association offered a prize of \$100 contributed by Mrs. Louis D. Brandeis for the best descriptions of Boston school centers. The studies were conducted under Professor James Ford in the graduate school of Harvard University, and the prize was divided between two of the contestants. Following is a digest by the editor of one of the six studies, this one made by Mrs. Glueck who is now conducting under the auspices of the N. C. C. A. an inquiry into the community centers in public schools throughout the country.

OLD DORCHESTER

Dorchester was until 1870 a separate town. In or about that year it was annexed to Boston. "On December 28, 1869, occurred the last town meeting of good old Dorchester. Thus Dorchester, which was the first of the New England settlements to establish the ancient institution of the town meeting, transferred it to other towns, as she took up her new existence as a part of the City of Boston. It is the proud boast of Dorchester that at the time of the annexation it had not a single pauper within its alms house, and there was no licensed liquor saloon within its limits. The name Dorchester is today as familiar as if the town still existed under a separate government, and the mention of the name recalls the ancient historical associations as vividly as ever. Since the annexation of Dorchester, it has been filling up with strangers, and many of the old spots and sacred associations are now passed by without arousing a single memory."—Orcutt, *Goode Old Dorchester*. The Dorchester Historical Society, established in 1892, composed of about 25 of the "old settlers" has attempted to keep alive the traditions of Dorchester. It is interesting to know that the recent meetings of this society have been held at the High School Building, housing the Center described in this study.

Dorchester Day held by the Historical Society in 1922 listed the colonial town as the site of: The first town meeting in America, 1633; first free school supported by direct taxation, 1634; first starch mill in America; first playing cards printed in America; first chocolate mill in America; first powder mill in New England, 1633; first grist mill in New England; and the first bass viol manufactured in America. An echo

of the landing of the Pilgrims who gave the town a beginning that well might give form to the shibboleths of community organizers is heard in the first stanza of Hezekiah Butterworth's "Mary and John" in Dorchester Bay—1630."

"It was Thanksgiving Day, and the sea-meadows lay
In long russet curves around Dorchester Bay;
The sturdy oak mansions had opened their halls,
The chimneys had smoked on the Mystic and Charles.
And Grandfather Minot looked out on the sea—
The last of the Dorchester Pilgrims was he—
And he thought of the days of the pioneers gone
Who sailed on the deck of the 'Mary and John'."

The Dorchester High School Center at Washington and Center Streets stands at the junction point of Ward 19, 20, and 21. This district is known as Dorchester Center or Codman Square, and is a shopping center and focus point for surface cars from four main arteries of travel. As there is only one other School Center in Dorchester, the Sarah Greenwood School, in ward 19, the High School Center presumably serves the remainder of Dorchester which comprises wards 17, 18, 20, and 21. The majority of those using the Center are, however, residents of wards 18 and 20. The district immediately surrounding the School Center is a middle class residential neighborhood, largely of private homes. The predominating element in the population is of native stock. Rentals in these two wards range from \$35 to about \$80 per month. The educational standards of the district are in keeping with the social and economic status of the population. Dorchesterites are essentially church going people. "Until 1806 there was but one church and one creed in the town of Dorchester, which was especially proud of its religious unity. But by 1893 Dorchester had thirty church societies, representing nearly every denomination. Cleavage between Catholics and Protestants is especially strong in this district. There are approximately 13,000 church going Protestants in all of Dorchester and at least 30,000 Catholics. These figures are obtained by totalling the membership of all the churches of Dorchester."

INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES

"Dorchester is marvellously favored among the suburbs of Boston in her physical aspects chief among which is the number of parks, play-

grounds, and beaches. Of the 56 playgrounds in greater Boston, 14 are to be found in Dorchester ranging in area from 86-100 of an acre to Franklin Field, 60 acres in extent. We have a municipal building with a swimming pool which is used chiefly by men. There are three beaches with bath houses for men and women and children. We have two school centers, one at the High School and another at the Greenwood School, both demonstrating what can be done for the immediate neighborhood, but neither of course filling the needs of a community of 157,932 (census of 1920). We have a tiny settlement house much restricted in its work because of lack of support. We have a local Young Men's Christian Association with no building of its own but acting as a coördinator between the church and the home and using the facilities offered by the various Protestant churches. We have a flourishing Jewish Welfare Center doing good work among the Jewish people. We have parochial and public school grounds used as playgrounds especially in the summer time." (From the annual report of the Dorchester Family Welfare Society published in the *Dorchester Beacon*, May 3, 1921). Dorchester has six libraries, 14 school districts, with a total of 23,468 pupils, one High School, 3 evening elementary schools, one evening High School, and four parochial schools. It has its share of commercial agencies also, among which may be mentioned, six billiard and pool rooms, seven motion picture theatres, three of which also provide vaudeville, nine halls that may be rented for dances, meetings, etc.

"The real need in Dorchester as we see it is not more playgrounds, parks, beaches, and breathing spots, but a better use of what we have and the development of school centers in all parts. The lack of intelligent supervision of our bathing beaches and parks is marked to keen observers. Recreation in the cold weather is much more of a problem in Dorchester than in the warm weather when all nature is aiding us." (Annual report of Family Welfare Society, May 3, 1921).

It seems advisable to give some account of those agencies in the immediate district served by the School Center, which are somehow associated with it and which play a vital part in the life of the district. There are five churches in the immediate neighborhood of the school. The Second

Church (Congregational) membership 1,555; the Greenwood Memorial Church (Methodist) membership 477; Stanton Avenue Church (Methodist Episcopal) 350; Dorchester Temple, (Baptist) 1,015; St. Mark's Catholic Church, 5,000. The Second Church, in Codman Square, conducts so many activities that very few of the church members take part in School Center affairs. The Y. M. C. A., whose equipment consists only of an office, is also in Codman Square. It conducts all of its activities in the church social rooms, on the playgrounds, and uses the School Center gymnasium for basketball games. There is feeling on the part of some of the Protestants that the Center is given more freely to Catholic or non-sectarian groups than to the Y. M. C. A. Others maintain, however, that the Y. M. C. A. does use the Center and that a district largely Catholic naturally is represented through a preponderance of groups of that persuasion. The Y. M. C. A. is very active in community work. Community picnics, pageants, parties, athletic meets, etc., are conducted frequently. These are naturally participated in entirely by Protestants. In addition to this recreation work, the Y. M. C. A. is engaging in some civil activities.

The Dorchester Women's Club, with a membership of 600, composed largely of women of the upper middle class, many of whom are college graduates, was organized in 1892. It is housed in a spacious club house on Centre Street, next to the Second Church and opposite the School Center. The purpose of this organization as outlined in the by-laws, is "to promote ethical, social and intellectual culture, to engage in charitable activities, and to establish, own and maintain a place of meeting." Although membership is non-sectarian, the bulk of the membership is Protestant. There are very few Jewish members. I have been told that the director of the School Center is the only Catholic member. A community meeting is held annually. The club also arranges a special program once a year for the School Center and has coöperated with it on several occasions. However, its attitude toward the Center is said by some to be one of patronage based on its pride as a long established organization.

There are numerous small social, literary, and charitable clubs which take an active part in the life of the community. Most of these clubs send

a representative to the monthly conference of the Dorchester Family Welfare Society and contribute in various ways to its work. It may be here noted that the School Center is not represented. The Center directress, though invited, has never been present. The following men's organizations may be mentioned as contributing actively to the life of the community:

The Dorchester Board of Trade.

The Dorchester Center Improvement Association. The president is editor of *Dorchester Beacon*, is clerk of the Dorchester Center Coöperative Bank and is member of the advisory committee of the School Center.

There are parent-teacher associations in eight of the local schools. None of these is affiliated with the School Center. Of the numerous fraternal lodges, the Knights of Columbus is the only one that has any affiliation with the School Center. Its basketball team uses the Center gymnasium. The high school students as a rule are not admitted to the School Center, but with the co-operation of the high school principal, the day school students have lent their assistance to the Center by preparing occasional musical programs and taking part in local celebrations. An evening high school meets in the same building three evenings a week on nights alternating with those used by the School Center. A different portion of the building is used for evening school and Center work. There is no connection whatsoever between the two.

THE SCHOOL CENTER

The equipment of the Center consists of the following: 50 rooms available for clubs, gymnasium 50' x 90', assembly hall, 50' x 90', seating capacity of 1000. No movable seats. A lunch room on the basement floor used as a domestic science room. A lecture room with 250 fixed seats. Laboratory room used for such activities as basketry, dressmaking, and millinery. The building is well lighted, though not especially attractive in its architecture or furnishings.

The School Center directress, whose official title is associate manager, has an advisory committee of twelve members, men and women of the district chosen by her in 1918, because of their interest in Center work. Few of the committee members attend the meetings. However, they respond to the calls for presiding at meetings, enter-

tainments, etc., held at the Center. The governing body of the Center is known as the *Central Council* which is composed of two representatives of each Center group in some cases elected and in others appointed by the directress, who calls and conducts all meetings. The *Leader's Council* meets once a month to discuss club problems. In 1918 a constitution was drawn up for the Center by the Parliamentary Law class but it has never been actively adopted.

In 1921 there were 33 leaders and helpers at the Center, 23 of whom were paid by the Department of the Extended Use of Public Schools, and ten were paid by the club. All workers paid by the Department are delegated to the Center through the Department office. Occasionally the club chooses its own leader or the Center directress makes a recommendation to the Department for a leader. However, all club leaders and other workers must have the approval of the head of the Department. The directress agrees that though most of the leaders have training in their particular field, but few of them have organizing ability or the "community viewpoint." Sixteen of the leaders are local residents and nine are non-residents.

The following club leaders are paid by the groups themselves: Saturday morning dancing teacher, Children's Dramatic Club, pianist for modern dancing class, and Thursday Evening Women's Athletic Club.

Janitor service, heat, light, and the necessary helpers such as door man, motion picture operator, pianist, matron, class leaders, and directress are paid for by the Department. Raising of funds for other leaders, and activities is left to the Center itself, as are also all other incidental expenses involved in the conduct of the Center. Funds are raised by club dues, entertainments, bazaars, exhibitions, Friday evening dancing assemblies which net from \$75 to \$80 a week. The total contribution in money by club groups, etc., from May, 1921 to May, 1923 was \$2,162. The Center directress is the treasurer for the Center fund and handles all income received.

Regular activities include the following: 1. The Mothers' and Home Makers' Club, now called the Woman's Club, organized in 1914. It has an advisory board composed of representatives of the Dorchester Women's Club, Family Welfare

Society, Dorchester Catholic Guild, Dorchester Maternal Association of the Second Church and the Dorchester Relief Society, the Dorchester House (a small settlement in Ward 17), and one representative of the Council of Jewish Women. It has a regular membership of two hundred women who come from all portions of Dorchester. This is by far the most important and most active group in the Center, and is interested not only in Center work, but actively coöperates with various organizations in civic work.

Dressmaking	2 classes	15 members each
Cooking	1 class	25 members each
Millinery	2 classes	20 members each
Basketry	1 class	40 members each
Modern dancing	1 class	125 members each
Lampshade making	1 class	15 members each
Children's dancing	4 classes	300 members total
Children's dramatic	1 class	20 members each
Boys' debating	1 class	10 members each

Membership in the above groups is open to all. Leaders for most of these groups are supplied by the Department. These clubs and classes have no organization.

2. School Center Dancing Assembly. There are three hundred members, boys and girls, 18 to 25 years of age. Membership fee is 25c a week.

3. School Center Basketball Team.

4. Women's Athletic Club.

5. Whist Club.

6. Tax Payers' League, which grew out of the Dorchester Board of Trade following local agitation about the raising of taxes. It was formed at the Center and is composed of three hundred members, men and women.

7. Women's Civic Club.

8. Girl and Boy Scouts.

9. Eight affiliated groups which were already organized and asked for meeting places in the Center.

Neighborhood organizations from time to time use the auditorium or other parts of the building for their own purposes. They must pay the full rate.

POLICY OF THE CENTER

The Dorchester High School Center has stressed in the past, and continues to stress the development of large group activities. There are very few small clubs and very few outside groups

who ask for the use of the building for small club meetings. This is accounted for by the fact that churches provide places for such meetings and that people's homes are large enough to accommodate small groups. The chief activities of this Center are therefore focused upon the auditorium. The weekly motion pictures which are attended by about four hundred people constitute one of the regular activities of the Center and are paid for by the Department. Patrons are largely young people; quality of pictures offered is about as good and as bad as that of commercial houses. The Center directress is especially interested in music and has made numerous efforts to develop weekly programs and obtains very excellent professional and amateur talent. A minimum charge of ten cents is made to these "community concerts." The average attendance is 250. Numerous other auditorium activities such as vaudeville shows, plays, lectures, forums, debates, community meetings, etc., are held at least once a week. Almost every one of the local organizations have now developed the habit of providing at least one entertainment a year for the School Center. Two or three events may be mentioned which are typical of what the Center does in lending its assistance and coöperation to the other agencies of the district.

1. A community Christmas tree was arranged jointly by the Center, the high school, Dorchester Women's Club, and Y. M. C. A.

2. On July 4, 1920, the Center entered a float with seventy-five of its dancing class children for the annual celebration of the Dorchester Historical Society.

3. Last year the Center was instrumental in gaining the coöperation of about thirty of the women's clubs of the district in raising funds for a Dorchester bed in the Children's Hospital.

The directress is now contemplating the organization of auditorium frequenters to be known as the Auditorium Associates.

Conclusions. Any organization doing community work and having as its objective the development of group consciousness and the interpretation of the various elements in the community to one another meets a particularly difficult situation in Dorchester. Though the district is somewhat unified by its wealth of historical association and Mayflower traditions, this is no

longer strong enough to overcome the cleavage between Protestant and Catholic. The Center directress, herself a Catholic, claims to be impartial and friendly to all. There is a strong feeling among many of the Protestant agencies that sufficient effort has not been made to advertise Center activities and to make them known to Y. M. C. A. and Protestant church groups. The situation is illustrated by the fact that a representative of the Center is not sent to the monthly conferences of the Family Welfare Society, and by the fact that the Y. M. C. A. called into conference representative citizens to discuss the problem of attendance of children at the commercial moving picture theatres, and in considering the methods to combat this evil, no mention was made by any one present of the fact that the School Center has in previous years given special Saturday afternoon motion picture performances for children, with this very thing in mind. The Y. M. C. A. did not invite the Center to take part in a district self-survey which was recently conducted, to ascertain conditions affecting the life of young men and boys in Dorchester.

However, it certainly cannot be said that the School Center is failing in its job. It must be borne in mind that the district that is served by this Center is very large and that it cannot easily be united around a common purpose. During the war a great and natural impulse to common action and mutual welfare occurred and the School Center was able to fulfill its mission without much effort on its part. It "sizzled" with activities and, as was true of almost all other organizations at that time, religious and racial barriers were forgotten in the spirit of service. People received training in coöperation and the Center directress has made numerous efforts to keep alive and encourage this good spirit. The practical result of her leadership was shown in bringing together about thirty of the women's clubs in the district for the purpose of raising money to endow a bed in the Children's Hospital. The meeting of these clubs, church organizations, etc., was called at the Center. A committee was formed of which a member of the Dorchester Women's Club was president and the directress of the Center was secretary. Each group was assigned a special task in preparation for a community bazaar to be held in the school building.

Three thousand people flocked to the building and two thousand dollars was raised. So much interest and enthusiasm was shown by the groups that it was decided to hold such an affair once each year for the benefit of a local charity. Last year the Center initiated the custom of a community Christmas tree. This event instead of bringing about a better spirit among the organizations which participated, seems rather to have revived the old antagonisms, as each group claimed for itself the credit for the initiation and success of the tree. As a result the attempt was not repeated.

The Center has attempted to revive something of the Town Meeting spirit of "Good Old Dorchester." A tax-payer's league was formed two years ago which holds regular meetings in the auditorium at which local problems are discussed and the necessary action taken. However, political discussions are "taboo" unless a really non-partisan meeting can be arranged.

It is perhaps in the Mother's Club of the Center that the greatest success in intermingling and in

the development of community consciousness has occurred. The Center directress has from the beginning taken care to see that each religious group is equally represented among officers, committees, etc., and during one year a Jewish woman was president of this club and a very good spirit prevailed. The club holds Neighborhood Days, community meetings, provides chaperones for school dances, takes part in local civic activities, assists local charities, and is in general the guiding spirit of the Center.

The Dorchester Center has made an impress upon the life of the district. It is facing the problems of its own needs; namely more democratic internal organization, vitalization of its advisory committee with greater representation of local organizations, the formation of a Community Center Association perhaps with Auditorium Associates as a nucleus, and gradual development of local rather than Departmental control. With this development the Center is increasingly becoming an interpreter of, and the largest factor of coördination in the district.

SOME DIFFICULTIES IN DEMOCRATIC NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATION AS ILLUSTRATED IN BOWLING GREEN, NEW YORK CITY

LEROY E. BOWMAN

SOME interesting sidelights on the organization of communities are appearing in the comparative studies now being made in New York City by the Community Committee, a research body made up of representatives of local organizations that have sprung up to serve different neighborhoods in the metropolis. Recently, one of the preliminary reports of the Committee described the organization and history of the Bowling Green Neighborhood Association, organized ten years ago to serve the tip of Lower Manhattan where live between five and seven thousand persons engaged (the men and women and some of the boys) as cleaners, janitors, office boys and helpers in the buildings of the Wall Street area.

It is a historic location and on its soil many of the earliest developments of New Netherlands center. Today Battery Park bounds the district on the south and on the west is the Hudson river

and the busiest part of New York harbor. Between the office of the Neighborhood Association and the river is a wide cobblestone thoroughfare for trucks bearing fruit from ferries and the crowds coming from Jersey or the boats that ply between New York and Boston. The district itself is interspersed with tall office buildings, the city market, the wholesale fruit and vegetable stores, but made up for the most part of antiquated and wretched tenements housing something like fifteen hundred families. There is no natural northern boundary, but Canal street, a busy thoroughfare, has been adopted as the northern limit of the organization's activities. On the east, Broadway separates the Bowling Green district from Wall Street and the financial area. Nowhere in the five boroughs of the great city is there such great contrast between buildings and inhabitants as between the huge stone and steel structures where billions are controlled and mil-

lions made and, on the other hand, the tumble-down shanties in which the worst squalor, poverty, and ignorance exist. The report calls this the most highly industrialized community in the world but describes the families as mostly foreign born, "bewildered, helpless, struggling under terrific handicaps for food and shelter."

BEGINNINGS OF NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATION

The details of a decade of history of efforts toward social betterment and also toward establishment of democratic organization of the residents of the territory are available for the student of organization. On the basis of observation of the organization in question, the Bowling Green Neighborhood Association, notes made on it for a period of a decade and studies by the community, as well as visits made recently by an impartial investigator brought in because she was without previous knowledge of the situation and therefore without presuppositions, the study has been made.

The organization began ten years ago when the Men's Club of Trinity church studied the neighborhood and brought its needs to the attention of a number of persons and organizations. As a result, appeals were made to the business men who were neighbors of the poor in the district and, in many cases, also employers. Nineteen of these business men together with representatives of sixteen social service agencies started the Bowling Green Neighborhood Association, paid a secretary, and began the health work that has been the chief characteristic of the association's activity.

Certain of the local residents, including some teachers, social workers, and small tradesmen, joined and attended quarterly meetings which, however, were not attended by the wealthy and powerful business men who support the organization, but which served to make a sympathetic contact with the neighborhood. In the course of a half dozen years the organization had become divided into two branches, one including the residents and the other including the contributors from the financial district. By this time the list of contributing members had grown to about eight hundred, due to effective organizing and efficient personnel. The neighborhood participation was in comparison small and of practically no significance in determining policies, election of

officers and other vital organization matters. Hence other means of developing neighborhood democracy were sought.

SOCIAL SERVICE AND SELF DETERMINATION

The first activities of the organization were those relating to the health needs of the district. They were fairly costly to initiate and were financed, as stated above, by the business men and run by expert health workers. Clinics, nursing, and other forms of service were established. Within a short time it was evident that the neighborhood would respond more readily if there were means of expressing group desires for recreation. The association therefore inaugurated recreational activities and sought through this means not only to serve the human need of the district but to give a chance to local leadership and desire of the residents to control some of these activities according to their traditions and their own ideas. From the start there has been the intention and the wish on the part of the staff to develop as much local control and democratic organization as was possible under the circumstances.

A few of the residents were elected to the Board of Control from time to time. In addition, advisory groups made up of residents of the district are now being developed to work with the Board through the secretary. It is found that the attitudes of the district can actually be taken into account without going to the extreme of attempting to bring into too close association the tenement dwellers and the Wall Street magnates. There is no question of personal preference or of exclusion; it is merely a question of saving the time of persons whose interest and support are retained only through the most profitable use of the time they give. Of the advisory groups, according to the report, "the first and most important is the Men's Club, made up of representatives of certain organized groups of the district, including the four Slovak Benefit Associations. The Association staff has fostered the growth of these benefit associations which meet in its building and make annual contributions to the Association, and has in contemplation similar clubs among Syrians, Greeks and other nationalities with a view to stimulating them to serve their own special recreational needs, of

awakening neighborhood consciousness and developing more leaders. The Men's Club which functions as an advisory council coöperates on programs and charitable efforts, discusses future work and expresses definite opinions on policy and program. It has also bought equipment for the house.

Another group, known as the Arrangement Committee, is composed of fifteen men and women leaders, including for example, a Syrian banker, a Greek real estate dealer, the editors of the Syrian and Slovak papers. These give advice and information and hear suggestions from the house staff on change of program. The Women's Club, also, organized by the house staff from a nucleus obtained from an English class for Slovak women is sometimes consulted on program, although as yet it has functioned but slightly. It appears that policy and program are now discussed by four groups: The Board of Directors, the Men's Club, the informal Arrangement Committee, the Women's Club.

As important as the citizen participation in this type of social effort is the method of organizing the social service agencies for team work. When the Trinity Men's Club made its preliminary study, a few agencies were working in the district. The New York Milk Committee had a neighborhood headquarters, but all other agencies were located outside. These included the Mothers Aid Association, which maintained a day nursery, the Department of Health and Education, and the Greenwich district office of the C. O. S. which administered relief.

CO-OPERATION WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

The first period of organization represents outside initiation, outside leadership and work superimposed on the community. The organizations that coöperated in the initial effort number sixteen, only one of which, the Syrian-American Society, was a local organization. These agencies include the following: Chatham Square Branch Public Library, Department of Health, Greenwich District, C. O. S., Little Mothers' Aid Association, New York Milk Committee, Greenwich House, State Department of Labor, Tenement House Department, Parks and Playgrounds Association, St. Paul's Chapel, Trinity Church Men's Committee, Department of Education, Downtown

Dispensary, New York Child Welfare Committee, Syrian-American Society (local), Women's Municipal League.

Organizations were asked to work through the neighborhood association which rapidly built up a personal acquaintance on the part of its staff with the neighbors, a trust and confidence in their friendship and helpfulness. They were making what was called the neighborhood approach as distinct from the visits of social workers whose chief introduction was a social service technique. Up to the present time over two hundred organizations in New York City have been asked to work and have actually given some help to the neighborhood through the Association. About twenty organizations belong to the Association. Another group of agencies use the office as headquarters within the Bowling Green district, including the Nursing Service, the hospital and two charity societies, who work even more closely than those last mentioned with the Association. As a result, the number of social workers needed in the district is reduced.

The staff of the Association consists of fourteen persons and the yearly budget is between \$39,000 and \$40,000. Between 1910 and 1924 the infant death rate has been reduced from 321 per thousand to 116. The death rate for the entire city declined $3\frac{1}{2}\%$, while Bowling Green declined $14\frac{1}{2}\%$. There is a playground, twenty-one clubs interesting themselves in athletics, music, dramatics, and recreation. In one year 2,500 inspections were made of the houses and 423 complaints sent to the Building and Tenement House Department. There is now a library serving a large proportion of the children in the district.

ORGANIZATION FACTORS

The report rightly lists three reasons lying back of the success of the organization:

1. The small territory selected as the basis of operations made possible intensive, accurate study, precise statements, and a picturesque appeal.
2. The proximity of Wall Street and the comparative ease with which financial support was secured.
3. The desperate need of the community.

The directors and particularly the staff of the Association have used every means to develop spontaneous leadership and community coöper-

ation. It is a slow development for various reasons, among them: (1) the heterogeneity of the people and the many different racial strains; (2) the constant change in the population with the influx of foreigners and the moving away to more desirable sections of the city of those who have adopted American ways and have improved themselves economically. There is consequently lack of permanent residential connection and the district is as much a temporary lodging place as an area of homes. (3) There is a lack of the material possessions although the workers maintain that there is little dire poverty; certainly the efforts of both fathers and mothers bring to the families little more than actual living requirements. Along with this there is lack of leisure and of the surplus needed in other ways to build up community participation in neighborhood improvement. (4) The lack of technical education and training as well as of experience in American ways puts the inhabitants at a disadvantage. (5) There is also a lack of experience in American methods of organizing but there is a wealth of organizing experience and ability exhibited in many of the indigenous nationality organizations. The writer has attended dances and "affairs" that were managed with great skill and ability and that netted considerable sums. Talks with some

of the leaders will reveal that the president or secretary is an officer in one, two or three mutual benefit societies and that a system of coöperation and organization has grown up within the nationality groups or has been inherited from old world situations that compares in many respects quite favorably with the types of coöperation that American social workers sometimes attempt to develop.

On the whole, it seems that the Bowling Green Neighborhood Association has achieved remarkable success in answering needs of the district and has developed as much spontaneous leadership and community organization as could be hoped for by the most sanguine under the peculiar circumstances. The results achieved by the efforts of the workers to have certain projects run by the neighbors, the leadership and coöperation that is evident in the indigenous societies of these people would lead one to conclude that there is a great deal of democracy actually working in the district and that there are possibilities of a great deal more. These things would also indicate that expensive social service administered on the basis of advanced standards can be effectively organized only in some such overhead way as has been done in Bowling Green.

TOWN FORESTS OF MASSACHUSETTS: A RECORD OF COMMUNITY ACHIEVEMENT

ALICE G. BRANDEIS

MODERN scientific forestry had its origin abroad, the Scandinavian countries, Germany, and France being the leaders. Their forest areas have been the object of great thought and care for some generations; and the fine results achieved, not only materially, but in the general enlargement and enrichment of life for the people, are unquestioned. To understand our situation we must recall the past for a moment. The mental attitude of men and their activities are largely determined by their daily physical needs. To the early settler in this country, the great forests, on the edge of which he lived, within which lurked savages and wild beasts, were an ever present menace. All his life

he toiled and slaved to subdue the woodland and to prepare the land for cultivation. Small wonder that the backwoods attitude lingered long and that the tradition of it still lingers among the descendants of the pioneers. This inherited point of view and the apparent inexhaustibility of our continental resources explain, in some degree, our utter extravagance and wastefulness, until quite recently, in the use of our woods and the shameful neglect of all measures of protection.

It is true that steps were taken by the National Government to retain some of the great natural preserves and unique scenery of the West. The first National Park was acquired in 1872 and we now have two hundred parks where millions an-

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nually take their holiday. Several of the states have adopted a similar policy, the Federal Government and the States, in many cases, coöperating in preserving necessary watersheds besides holding for their citizens open breathing spaces and playgrounds. There have been also many acts of splendid generosity on the part of private owners, giving or bequeathing large tracts of woodland to be devoted for all time to public use and enjoyment. It might seem as if, from these various efforts, there would be assurance of an adequate supply of forest areas for industrial as well as other use, that public opinion, once informed of the abuse, would call a halt. Such, however, is far from being the case. The exploitation for private profit of such marvellous and irreplaceable forests as the Redwoods of California still continues. In spite of our rapidly diminishing supply we are still exporting lumber in great quantities.

How is this evil to be attacked? How can we hope to bring our people to an appreciation of the fact that our natural resources are not ours to despoil but should be regarded as a sacred trust to be wisely administered and passed on to coming generations developed and enriched?

In this, as in many other public undertakings, Massachusetts has led the way. True it is, her need was great: Massachusetts of recent years imports ninety per cent of the wood required for her industries, and even the casual observer can not fail to notice the great extent of cut-over waste land. Moreover, to a large degree land in Massachusetts is too poor for successful farming; and timber production at present prices is likely to prove a profitable venture. Let us turn first to the record of state activities. In 1904 the office of State Forester was established. Now there are twenty state forests covering an area of 60,000 acres. The Commonwealth has also been of great assistance to the movement by remission of taxes on woodland, by large free distribution of seedlings, and by a broad educational program. This enlightened policy undoubtedly did much to educate public opinion and to bring home to the people the great need and the far reaching benefits of forest restoration.

By far the most fundamental advance has been the creation of Town Forests, thus bringing the whole subject still more directly and closely into the life and thought of each community. It came about, like many another significant forward step,

in the most unpremeditated and simple way. The first town forest to be established in America under a state law providing for such forests was the one established by the city of Fitchburg in 1914. The land had come into the possession of the city in various ways, there being four tracts. It was not purchased originally for the purpose of forest preservation. The town forests consist mainly of land theretofore owned by the towns, either as town farms for the poor or as water supply areas. In many places the land was acquired through gifts. None of the towns appropriated money for the purchase of land until 1924 when the towns of Scituate, Plymouth, Wareham, Norton, Merrimac and Marion appropriated sums ranging from \$950 to \$3,000 for this purpose.

In the establishment of these forests the towns can count upon the aid of numerous agencies—so numerous that they should surely prove a "discourager of hesitancy."

While there are many future economic advantages, conversion of a timber area into a town forest is an immediate asset to the town, if for no other reason than it immediately brings to the assistance of the town the resources of the state and Federal governments in properly maintaining, at the lowest possible cost, the wooded area. The Massachusetts Forestry Association, too, stands ready to render immediate assistance to every town establishing a town forest and has made an offer to plant free of charge 5000 trees on any town-forest area established this year. There are quartered at the league office in Springfield an assistant state forester who is available at all times, without cost to the town, for expert advice on the administration and maintenance of a forest area, and an agent of the Federal Government stationed at Hampden County to combat the ravages of the White Pine Blister Rot. These men are always ready to give their time and services to any town which has set aside, or which is willing to set aside, timberland as a forest area. In addition, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts will give free of charge to any town several thousand of trees every year, if the town will but plant them.¹

Encouraging to forest lovers has been the steady progress of the movement to all parts of the Commonwealth. There are now forty-one towns that have set aside land, or voted to do so, for town forests. There are 105 other towns which have appointed official committees to investigate the subject and to report at the next town meeting. This means that practically forty per cent of all the cities and towns of the state

¹ Hampden County Improvement League Bulletin.

have taken some official action regarding town forests. The total acreage in town forests to date is about 31,000 acres and the cost is approximately \$25,000, which means that on the average about one-tenth of one per cent of the tax rate of the individual town goes for the establishment of the town forest.

If size were the true measure of value this small beginning would be far outranked by the achievement of a neighboring state. New York has royal pleasure grounds for her people of over 2,000,000 acres. The high social significance, the hopefulness of the town forest plan lies in the fact of the element of smallness in the experiment—the smallness of the town and the small size of the area to be handled by each town. None of these town wood lots are large, the average being about 100 acres and many, of course, containing much less. It may be asked, why do we feel such hopefulness in these small ventures? What is it that makes their significance as social experiments? The very smallness of the wood lots and their nearness are the essential factors in bringing them close to the life of the town and the life of each citizen. They are known to all. Their proper development and care are subjects of common concern. In time they bring to the town distinction and reputation in which each member of the community feels himself a sharer. Here we have the personal, intimate relation, impossible to large numbers or huge undertakings which are of their nature impersonal and remote. It is believed that out of this close responsible relation will grow a larger measure of civic concern and sense of responsibility on the part of the average individual. It should lead to better all-round development and increase in self-respect and dignity. In such environment the man of medium talents and capacity is, in common parlance, "more of a man." Returns such as these can not be measured in figures. Although largely intangible, they are nevertheless real and undeniable.

Moreover the process we have described is essentially an educational one—a school of citizenship continuing through life, enlarging and developing to every man and woman in the community. We have gone far astray in our worship of mere bigness. A thoughtful reading of history

should teach us better. Greek civilization flowered not in one great over-shadowing center, but in many hundred little ones. It was the small city-state of the golden period of Greek history that produced some of the greatest achievements in art, literature and politics that the world has ever known; and this is equally true of the great Renaissance epoch in Italy with its many tiny cities, each intensely individual, with its local tradition, talent and pride. In both these developments it is believed that closeness of touch and circumscribed area were the vital factors, although there were obviously many others at work.

As an incident of the phenomenal growth of our cities in the last quarter of a century, the neighborhood group has been disappearing, its importance as an element of the national life ignored or unappreciated. There are, however, indications of a change of attitude and of a better understanding of the value of the small unit. We hear of community enterprises in every field, notably the churches and settlements. Notable, for instance, is the fact that in a recent intensive study of social conditions in New York City, the work was subdivided into neighborhoods, it having been found that these miles and miles of apparently unrelated dwellings had crystallized into separate and distinct communities, each with its common interests and intimate relations.

The town forest work has much in common with other reforestation plans. In all of them the economic return, because of our increasing need, is of growing importance. Their use as outdoor playgrounds is a joyous feature alike in national, state and town reservations. But the town forest differs from the others in this: It is necessarily small, it is created by the effort of a small, closely associated group; and the process by which it is established and maintained is an educational one. These features constitute its unique contribution and make it of high social importance. The movement is an exhibit of small town capacity and resources. As such it should be studied by all who believe that the revival of the town is full of hope and that through its rebirth there may be found a way out of some of the serious difficulties now troubling the country.

GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

"What's Wrong with the Home?" Parents, chiefly, declares Miriam Van Waters in the *New Republic* for February 4. Relying on tradition, whims, prejudices, and obsolete religious sanctions, too many fathers and mothers have refused to be educated into an understanding of the needs of youth and a more biologically sound view of the family as the primary social group in a world full of struggle and adventure. Modern life has made the home a mere place to eat, sleep, and take in supplies; whereas its true function is to furnish a wholesome emotional background for the hazardous and experimental art of living.

* * *

An attempt at an "Ecological approach to the Study of the Human Community" is made by R. D. McKenzie in the November *American Journal of Sociology*. Social units, no less than plants and animals, may be looked at in the relation of each kind and individual to its environment. They are the outcome of competitive and accommodative processes, and are themselves in constant rivalry with one another in respect to location, resources, and marketing organization. The utilities, institutions, and inhabitants of a community are distributed and segregated as a result of constantly changing factors of competition and selection. This point of view reveals an almost virgin field of work to the practical sociologist.

* * *

Legislation for the planning and zoning of cities usually proceeds by the clumsy method of trial and error. Practice and legal experience have now, however, made available expert advice such as Edward M. Bassett, counsel of the New York Zoning Committee, offers in the leading article of the December *American City*. His suggestions include the methods of planning beyond the city's limits, establishing playgrounds and regional park systems, levying assessments for public improvements, controlling real estate subdivisions, and preventing building in mapped but unopened streets.

* * *

Two interesting projects along these lines find place in the same issue. One is the organization

of the Niagara Frontier Planning Association, as described on page 539, which takes in six cities and twenty-two villages in a growing metropolitan area along the river and the lake; the other (page 585) is the work of the Chamber of Commerce of the Plainfields, N. J., in studying the subject of city planning and submitting a report to the city governments outlining needs and suggested expenditures. . . . Eva G. Osgood tells how "Map-Making for Zoning by Civics Pupils" in Melrose, Mass., by securing valuable aid and publicity for a proposed city ordinance helped it to become law without serious opposition.

* * *

Also in this issue Horace W. Peaslee, the Park Architect of Washington, D. C., makes "A Plea for Imagination in Playground Design." He would combine the beauty of the park and the utility of the playground in a single area, and in an ideal Children's Park would include apparatus of spectacular form and color, natural streams and pools, statuary of juvenile favorites in history or fiction, and an animal with an infinite capacity for peanuts. . . . The following article comments briefly on the best methods of landscaping, fencing, and surfacing playgrounds, considering also the type of buildings and equipment that are most suitable.

* * *

"A Bureau of Municipal Research for the League of Nations" has been planned at Geneva to serve all the league members, as noted by Charles A. Beard in the January number of the same magazine. . . . At Lawrence, Kansas, there was organized in December an Association of American Municipal Organizations, including ten existing leagues of cities and towns, which is described on page 4. . . . "Zoning Publicity Which Proved Effective" in the case of Boston is presented by L. Glenn Hall; the zoning law there is unique in having been passed by a state legislature and applying to a city almost 300 years old.

* * *

Three exhibits of city and regional planning to be held this spring in New York, Pittsburgh, and Washington are described on page 170 of the

Zoning and City Planning" at the University of Maryland is noted as probably the first of its kind in this country. . . . William L. Baily shows how in Winnetka, Illinois, just north of Chicago, "A Suburb Sets the Pace" with a community house which combines the best of the New England traditions of the free church, the town meeting, the library, the village improvement association, and the public school. . . . An unusual "Park and Playground System" in and about Canton, Ohio, in which the needs of city and country dwellers are both well provide for, is outlined by Jacob L. Crane, Jr.

* * *

Mr. Bassett writes again on "Legislation for Parks and Recreation Spaces" in the January *Playground*. Most cities have mismanaged the reserving of play-parks, being compelled to condemn land already in use, tear down existing buildings, and assess the cost on an exceedingly reluctant area of benefit. A number of alternate plans are suggested, the most effective, which would secure space before it is built over without using public funds or requiring assessments, being discussed in detail as an exercise of the police power through state enactment.

* * *

In the same number a unique community house at Spring Lake, N. J., is described, with illustrations, by Adalaide B. Heilner. Presented by a former mayor, it contains the town library, a small theatre, a gymnasium and pool, a large reception hall, and other well-furnished rooms for clubs and society meetings. . . . Dr. George J. Fisher relates the adventures of the 48 American boy scouts who attended the international jamboree at Copenhagen last summer; and Robert A. Woods discusses, from his recent observations in China, the status of organized play in the Orient and the need for American leadership. . . . Two articles by Emmett Scott and T. S. Settle deal with the needs and methods of recreation for colored citizens in the North and South. . . . Finally, Frederick H. Koch tells in an engaging manner how he has directed the making of folk plays in Dakota and North Carolina for the past eighteen years.

* * *

The University of Iowa recognizes social work as an educational opportunity. It is assuming

leadership in showing the people of the state their needs and helping them to build programs of constructive service. Louise Cottrell in the *Survey* for February 15 describes the various activities of its extension division in supplying speakers, making rural surveys, cooperating with existing boards and agencies, and initiating welfare legislation. . . . University extension in Kentucky is not far behind, as Marshall E. Vaughn shows in the same issue. Berea College launched an enthusiastic county achievement contest which ran for two years and by its ingenious listing and scoring of "points" created keen competition throughout the state.

COMMUNITY COMMENT

The Junior Community Leagues in Virginia have shown a wholesome growth in the last three years. The last reports are interesting:

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT, JUNIOR COMMUNITY LEAGUES,
PAST THREE YEARS

	1922	1923	1924
Number of Leagues	123	398	531
Number reporting	123	321	402
Number paying dues	45	140	231
Reporting school work	114	288	345
Reporting health work	73	213	310
Reporting road work	18	21	67
Reporting farm work	55	127	185
Reporting civic improvement ..	56	142	278
Reporting social work	60	246	324
Membership	6,020	15,467	25,468
Dues paid	45.00	140.00	249.00
Raised for local improvement..	\$10,163.97	\$18,909.07	\$28,740.92

106 Junior Leagues reported \$1,016.77 Christmas seals sold.

MAIN STREET IN NORWAY

An appreciation in popular form of community relationships is graphically presented by Knut Hamsun in "Segelfoss Town." One might ask the question—Do the relationships in small towns develop anything socially constructive? Are the stimulations of the kind that produce big things? Is it possible for a personality to develop in a place of intimate personal acquaintances?

Segelfoss Town has been said to present some of the heroic aimless characteristics of Ulysses or of Aeneas. There seems to be no central figure in the book and there is a bit of confusion in the mind of the reader as he learns of one character after another. The provincial formation of Segelfoss Town seems to be very much akin to that of Gopher Prairie. The good and the bad are always February issue. . . . A "College Course in

a bit of the every day, involving piety and sin, selfishness and generosity, poor and shrewd, loveable and disagreeable persons. But the persons described become tediously familiar, as they do in small towns. There is no central point, no driving toward an end, no progressive accomplishment. The book seems to be mere picture and analysis devoid of hint of praise or complaint.

WATU WA MITI

An interesting account has appeared in the February Bulletin of the World Association for Adult Education telling of the efforts of Mr. R. St. Barbe Baker in the Highlands of Kenya. Here, as Assistant Conservator of Forests, he found the country, once covered with trees, now bleak and barren. A tribe of people was in a state of disorganization, due partly to their own wasteful treatment of the land and the coming of Western European civilization. On the pretense of a dance, he called the warriors together and exhorted them to band together to plant trees and care for them. Fifty volunteers responded, adopted a badge of membership and started a Movement. The Movement took shape. There was an initiation ceremony instituted full of symbols; there were ranks something like those in the Boy Scout organization; there was a password and a promise. The organization is known as "The Forest," the sub-divisions as "Branches." Members meet for drill and physical exercise. As a result of the growth of the movement the country is being re-planted and a practical outlet is being provided for the energy of the warriors. The Forest Scouts now number about 15,000.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Volumes 5 and 6 of the Minutes of Evidence, each costing 6 s., have come out, covering among other things evidence from the hearing of municipal corporations of the County Councils Association; also the Associations of Urban and Rural District Councils. The relations of the local governments covered by these volumes are caused in part by expansion of motor traffic and the necessity of keeping up roads by the municipalities. A

review states that the rivalry between two types of government has undoubtedly led to efficiency and while the County Borough can claim that the compact industrial area enables the Local Authority to make more use of expert officials, the combination of County and District Councils provides more scope for the elected representatives. There are in the volumes much material for eulogium on local government. It is stated that "The admixture of central guidance and inspection with local responsibility and initiative, coupled with adequate publicity removed the obvious defects. On the existing framework active, enlightened citizenship may build with confidence."—(Quoted from *The Social Service Bulletin* published by the National Council of Social Service, London.)

AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION

The Horace Plunkett Foundation has established the Imperial Bureau of Information on Agricultural Coöperation. (Westminster.) Through it up-to-date information can be secured on agricultural coöperation throughout the British Empire, possibly also the United States later on. Methods of organization that have benefitted farming communities will be analyzed.

WORKERS IN COUNCIL

January 8th and 9th at St. John's College in Oxford, a Conference was held on the work of rural community councils. They discussed the purpose of a rural community council and its health, rural industry, community organization in the village and the special needs of young people.

COMMUNITY CHESTS

Denver, the first city to adopt the Community Chest, has just announced the successful culmination of its last campaign. It was in this city that years ago a Catholic priest, a Jewish rabbi and two Protestant ministers met to discuss plans for financing the social and charitable work of the city. There are now 212 Community Chests functioning in the United States and Canada.

There are forty-nine agencies united and they have just secured an annual combined contribution of \$729,154, the largest sum that has been raised in Denver. There were ten active committees and twelve campaign groups.

In an Annual Report, Ellwood Street, Director of the St. Louis Community Council, shows that in two years in St. Louis there has been a 44 per cent. increase in charitable income, 50 per cent. saving in cost of financing, fourteen times as many stock-holders, and an increased number of givers.

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH

Alva W. Taylor comments on the Community Church in a recent article in *The Unity Messenger* as follows:

"The distinguishing characteristic of rural life to-day is that of community interest. The old provincialism yields to it in just the measure that improved means of communication make possible. Good roads, the automobile, the telephone and the rural mail man may have brought with them a new epoch in rural social life. . . . The Protestant movement has not only run its course so far as formal organization on behalf of liberty is concerned, but has far over-run its usefulness. The freedom of the individual to think in his own terms and to worship according to his own conscience has long since been won. . . . The average rural church, competing with two or three others in its community and rendered weak and inefficient by the competition, cannot furnish a program that will do this work. The community church offers a way out. . . ."

Church and Religion

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

PROBLEMS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION BETWEEN SOCIAL WORK AGENCIES AND CHURCHES IN RURAL DISTRICTS

LEROY A. RAMSDELL

PERHAPS the most obvious set of problems centers around the proper division of functions between the social worker and minister. These problems are not peculiar to the rural field alone but they are more acute there because of the limited resources. In general I believe the minister, if he is a resident in the community where he works, should function as a local volunteer leader; the social worker, who in rural work is usually a county worker, as an outside specialist.

This general formula runs into difficulties, however, as soon as we take it into the field. In my Red Cross days, I found one branch in my territory where it was impossible to make any headway in developing social service which the town obviously needed because one of the local ministers had acquired the chairmanship of the Red Cross organization and persistently and rather insolently refused to let it function. His purpose undoubtedly was to keep the control of social work in the town in his church congregation. Personal shortcomings ranging all the way from inbred tactlessness to positive cupidity are not uncommonly found in both social workers and ministers.

No less important, however, than the problems arising from personal inadequacy are those arising from technical incapacity. The minister who is not well trained in methods of dealing with personal situations and methods of group organization is not the man to whom the social worker can look for leadership in attacking the social problems in his community. But on the other hand we can all sympathize with the New England rector who found himself puzzled by the antics of two visiting nurses the first of whom insisted that his little daughter must have her tonsils removed

immediately while the second a year later, the tonsils not having been sacrificed by the skeptical father, informed the child that she had a beautiful throat. If the minister must bring community knowledge and community leadership to the social worker, it is no less important that the social worker bring on her side a thorough mastery of her technique, both case work and organization, and a thorough knowledge of resources outside the community.

Formalism is the great obstacle to this happy conjunction. The minister who would be of help in the cure of social problems in his community must forsake his creed and lose himself in the life around him. It is for him to be the leaven. On the other hand, the social worker who looks for coöperation from the rural minister cannot be satisfied with a single formula or program to be applied in all situations. She must develop such a skill in getting at the real cause of social maladjustments and such a wide knowledge of ways and means of promoting readjustments that she can enter without any preconceived ideas into a specific situation and draw the solution out of the elements of the situation. There are large numbers of ministers and social workers in the rural field who are not technically equipped for their jobs. This problem alone presents an obstacle of no small proportions to the development of coöperation between the church and the social agency.

But the division of the field and the development of coöperation involves other difficulties. A second and more fundamental set of problems confronts us in the breaking down of the barriers of a too narrow professionalism. I once helped in the organization of a community church where in four years the budget was built up from five

hundred to three thousand dollars a year, the Sunday School and other related activities were completely organized, pews were installed, a parsonage built, and membership doubled, all without any effect on the social problems of the community. The minister in this church, although an exceptionally able man, could not think of social problems except in terms of "churchy" religion. I knew a very good social worker who went into a small town to give a course for volunteer workers. The local society had pursued for years the custom of sending two of its members to investigate every case applying for aid. The ridicule with which the social worker greeted this announcement broke up the course. She insisted that a client mustn't be interviewed by two people at once.

The minister who seeks help in dealing with social problems of his community will have little use for the social worker who comes in to run things in her own way. He has a right to expect in her a genuine appreciation of rural values and an attitude of helpfulness. It is for her to counsel and advise on the problems which have puzzled him; not to demand his help in foisting her professional hobbies on his community. On the other hand the social worker who desires to help rural communities help themselves must offer her services elsewhere if the minister does not know enough about social processes to realize the existence of social problems in his community which religion alone cannot cure. We must have ministers who know how much greater is life than religion, and social workers who do not assume that all of life that is worth while is wrapped up in the processes which they manipulate. It is my opinion that a large majority of both ministers and social workers are too narrowly professional in their outlook to cooperate with each other to the best advantage of the community.

The solution of this problem involves cooperation between training schools and seminaries, between these and the national organizations, and between the national religious and social organization in their contacts with local groups and leaders. Each of these relationships is a problem in itself. The last two, however, seem especially pertinent to our present discussion.

It is of no advantage to a theological student to go to the expense of acquiring this supplementary equipment as long as its value is not recognized

by the denominational organizations. Nor is it of any value to student social workers to acquire a broad appreciation of human values and especially of rural values as long as the national social work organizations are seeking chiefly for workers who will find complete satisfaction in promoting the respective programs of these agencies. It seems to me that a more frequent and a more thorough exchange of ideas between the denominational leaders and the social work leaders would be profitable for both, especially within the field of rural work.

But exchange of ideas is not enough as we must see when we consider the problem of cooperation between national organizations and local groups. National organizations are in part responsible for and in part dependent upon the attitudes of local groups toward their local professional workers. For the most part there is no local demand for socially minded ministers. This is largely due to the fact that local groups have been taught by the denominational organizations for the last hundred years to think of religion as more or less separate from the other affairs of life. Whenever social workers come in contact with these local groups they are likely to challenge this attitude. On the other hand, while it cannot be said that local groups in rural districts have been taught to accept the traditional city bred technique of social work as the all desirable thing, there is a decided tendency, it seems to me, for the national and state social work agencies to put more and more emphasis on this kind of effort. Because this city bred technique, if not actually anti-church, is at least almost totally indifferent to the church, local ministers are not likely to welcome it with open arms. It seems imperative therefore, that the policy and practice of national social work and denominational organizations should be coordinated at every point to the end that the movement for a professional service adapted to the needs of the rural community may proceed harmoniously.

My third set of problems is grouped about the question, How can we emancipate the local worker? As long as the minister owes his primary allegiance to a denominational board, as long as the field representative or the county agent owes her first allegiance to a state or national agency, the possibility of cooperation between them is limited. Each is under pressure to show

increasing support for his organization. They are competitors for the time and money of the people among whom they work.

I do not think the local workers are primarily responsible for this situation. The job market in religious work and in social work is largely controlled by national organizations. In the church field each of these organizations has its creed and its body of doctrine. Each of the national social work agencies has its service program and its policy. Progress or decline of each organization is measured by the number of converts who have avowed their allegiance to these sacred symbols. By this standard each local minister and social worker is judged.

There are some local workers to be sure, who have won their freedom. In "Churches of Distinction in Town and Country," Dr. Brunner has given us the stories of fourteen ministers who

have broken some of the fetters of denominationalism and devoted themselves to the single end of serving their respective communities. Occasionally we find a social worker like the southern field secretary of a national agency who has devoted herself to organizing county federations for social service against the wishes of her national organization. These are the exceptions that prove the rule.

One of the churches described in Dr. Brunner's book was served by thirty ministers before a man came along with the courage and the vision to make the church serve the community. Must each of our rural communities wait until it is discovered by an Isaiah? Or can the national executives of religious and social work organizations relegate the creed and the service program to the lowest place on the list of reasons for which they exist and raise to first place the service of each community according to its needs?

GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

Three tests of the true Christian liberal—the deepening of his spiritual life, his emphasis on positive convictions rather than on denials, and his earnestness about establishing God's will in the earth. Harry Emerson Fosdick states forcefully in the *Ladies' Home Journal* for January what such liberals are driving at. They want to modernize Christianity's expression of its faith, fronting the facts of modern life with a reinterpretation of Scripture and its abiding truths, and they want to subordinate the details of ritual, creed, and church organization to the building of personal and social righteousness. If this be heresy, he challenges, let the orthodox make the most of it.

* * *

"Can Christianity Survive" in a world which Machiavelli, Luther, Adam Smith, and Karl Marx have done much to secularize, and which is only too often repelled by the church's tacit support of traditional social wrong? This question is pondered in the January *Atlantic* by Reinhold Niebuhr, with none of the facile optimism of which he accuses the emasculated religion of the present. He recognizes the value of Christian liberalism in substituting the gospel of Jesus for

the authority of the Bible, but believes the older pessimists dealt with the evils of the world more frankly and more courageously. If religion is to be restored as a vital force it must face the moral implications of its faith in the potentialities of human nature.

* * *

The Dean of St. Paul's is accounted gloomy because he has the intelligence and fortitude to look at unpleasant truths. In the February number of the same magazine he essays a number of tentative prophecies. Christianity is not a spent force; it will not die, though it may never displace the ancient faiths of Asia; and if our civilization has passed its zenith religion will sink into superstition and bigotry along with it. In Catholicism, which refuses to come to terms with science and humanism, no further development is to be looked for; but Protestantism, if it can survive the collapse of its bibliolatry and reconstruct a new Puritan discipline, has in it the seeds of another Reformation. "Religion in the Future," whatever its name, will belong, he feels, to the Platonic humanist type, accepting the moral ideas of the New Testament and centering in the thought of the indwelling of Christ.

Groups of young college, business, and professional men, meeting over the week-ends in some quiet country place under the guidance of Frank Buchman, one of Harold Begbie's "twice-born men," have initiated a new movement for personal religion that is catching the imagination of the younger generation. Kenneth Irving Brown describes in the *Outlook* for January 7 "A Religious House-Party" he attended recently, where with the utmost frankness, earnestness, and good humor the deeper problems of conscience and right living were explored in half a dozen informal gatherings. Mr. Buchman believes in making religion a vital constructive force and a sociable affair in the same breath.

* * *

The issue of January 21 carries the same author's account of a number of churches which believe youth should be employed in more active work than the warming of pews. In Philadelphia, Syracuse, and Urbana, Illinois, are to be found "students' churches," well institutionalized, in which college men and women make up virtually the entire membership and hold all the offices. By this means the undergraduate's academic seclusion is tempered with valuable human contacts, he learns something of the problems of modern religion, and best of all he is given an opportunity to put his Christianity into practice. "When Youth Does not Sit on the Sidelines" is the title of the article.

* * *

Henry Fairfield Osborn has been classed by Mr. Bryan along with Voltaire, Thomas Paine, and Robert Ingersoll as a wicked atheist because he believes in evolution. He resents the accusation, however, and sets out to show, in the *Forum* for February, that "Evolution and Daily Living" are not to be divorced from each other. The moral, ethical, and spiritual principles inherent in the modern view of the universe demand the highest ideals in conduct. Evolution is very literally a creative power, as witnessed in the sudden emergence of the mind and the soul of man in the Crô-Magnon period; and he asserts that he is able to say with Cicero: "I turn to Nature as I would to God."

For the first time in history all the world's religions are face to face with the same issues. Evolutionary science, industrialism, and the narrowing of the earth to a troublous community of crowded units have brought educated men in all lands to think in the same categories and express themselves alike. "Modernism as a World-Wide Movement," says A. Eustace Haydon in the January *Journal of Religion*, involves the adjustment of beliefs, theories, and traditions to accord with our new scientific knowledge, and the bringing under control of the political and economic forces that have the world in their power today. The problem is immensely complicated by the variety of divergent pasts that are now brought together to be welded into a single unified future.

* * *

The following article offers a careful and temperate view by Robert Hastings Nichols of "Fundamentalism in the Presbyterian Church" since the heresy trial of Dr. Briggs in 1893. As the central meaning of the movement the author sees not so much insistence on a literal reading of Scripture as an attempt to exalt the authority of the living church. In this the fundamentalists are approaching the Catholic position of making an official formulation of doctrine (by the General Assembly) binding upon all its members, a requirement that would reinstate the ecclesiastical tyranny from which Protestantism was at first a revolt. The issue is that of the Reformation over again, and the liberals are carrying on the principle of the freedom of the Christian man.

* * *

Conceiving Hebrew and Christian history as a problem in the higher eugenics, Ralph E. Danforth in the *Scientific Monthly* for February traces the superior race founded by Abraham up through such great leaders as Joseph, Moses, David, and Isaiah to its fruition in the person of Jesus. The religious sense is a necessity in human advance, and Jesus' doctrine of the axe and the fan—the genetic principle of selection and rejection—leads at once to the best heredity and the truest faith. By the New Abraham Plan, in the knowledge and practice of this principle, any man and woman may make themselves ancestors of

the great race of the future. The article is entitled "Religion as a Factor in Human Evolution."

* * *

The Lutheran and Calvinistic conceptions of salvation lie at the root of our modern capitalism. The former, envisaging two distinct worlds of faith and law, creates a fixed status for the individual to make the best of himself in; the latter, with its emphasis on reason and the stewardship of secular life, gives an ethical sanction to self-seeking and the accumulation of wealth. The two types are complementary: Lutheranism, doomed to social helplessness in a materialistic world, furnishes labor of a high quality, while Calvinism supplies the enterpriser for whom any form of production becomes something like a religious act. Between them they have laid the foundation of the capitalistic system by rationalizing the economic process under the idea of asceticism. Such is the thesis developed in detail by Heinrich H. Maurer in "The Sociology of Protestantism" from the November *American Journal of Sociology*.

* * *

The Pennsylvania Germans, thinks Dr. Maurer, typify the selfsufficiency, hatred of rationalism, and distrust of change that Lutheranism develops into under ideal conditions. In the February issue he outlines the stubborn but hopeless fight to retain their domestic and parochial communism and mental solidarity. Though most of the barriers are now broken, this peculiar people has shown religion to be a powerful abettor of sec-

tionalism, and yet has served the nation in maintaining that temper of traditional industry and technical efficiency which America in the nineteenth century so much needed.

* * *

"What is a Council of Churches Good For?" asks Ross W. Sanderson in a long series of questions from the *Survey* for January 15. What practical measures of coöperation can Protestantism agree on? How shall a local council deal with the youth of a community, with evangelistic revivals, with the labor problem, with the issues of politics, with social service work? Is its goal to make the church a pliable servant of the state, or to educate for character in a spiritual sense? Mr. Sanderson thinks there is as yet little functional meaning in the inter-church movement, but that it bears the seeds of a durable and significant contribution to religion.

* * *

The increasing percentage of male members and attendants in churches of the six largest Protestant denominations has led to the query, "Are Women Losing their Religion?" which Martha Bensley Bruère puts in *Collier's* for February 7. Women still slightly outnumber the men, but at the present rate of change they will not continue to do so much longer. The reason for their defection is given by both church leaders and their own spokesmen as the irresistible pull of outside interests, ranging from *thés dansants* to the new opportunities for social work, which was once carried on only through the church.

Inter-Racial Cooperation

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN NEGRO HEALTH

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

IN A PAPER read before the National Conference of Social Work in Toronto a speaker undertook to show the relation of the psychology of the Negro to his health. As the paper was read by a physician, it was hoped that the author had some data on how mental attitudes in the Negro created certain functional disorders. The paper contained scarcely more than the usual plea and certain felicitous expressions of oversensitive self-critics.

In this article the writer does not attempt to discover any mental patterns inherent in the Negro's germ plasm affecting his susceptibility to disease. Here is presented simply those conceptions concerning the origin of disease and beliefs concerning the cure for disease which affect the health of the race. In addition, a modest attempt is made to indicate the probable effects of the social environment upon the health of the Negro.

Cause of Disease. Let us consider first the conceptions held by many Negroes concerning the cause of disease. Primitive conceptions of disease are still entertained by the white population; and the Negro exhibits in this respect no special psychic traits. He has simply a larger amount of ignorance and is relatively isolated in his mental environment. The influenza epidemic called forth special church services among even supposedly enlightened white people. Therefore, it is not surprising to find comparatively few Negroes ascribing disease to physical causes. When the writer has inquired of many Negroes the cause of disease, they have seemed puzzled. "People just *get sick*," was the extent of their insight in many cases. An excellent example of the failure to refer illness to concrete palpable factors is found in a case in which it was impossible to persuade a mother that her baby's intestinal dis-

orders were due to its having eaten cabbage, fat meat and green fruit at one meal. "The baby was going to get sick anyway," was her stubborn objection. Most of them regard disease as a visitation of God. Consequently, some regard, if not the efforts to promote health, then surely the belief that health is something that can be acquired by proper hygiene, as a sort of impiety. As illustrative of this attitude the writer was cautioned recently, even by a teacher, that to speak of a brilliant student's death from a preventable disease as a shame, was an impiety. Let us pass on to beliefs concerning cures for disease.

CURES FOR DISEASE

Below are gathered a number of cures current among the colored population in the South. They represent those found to be rather common:

Whooping Cough. (1) If the mother of the child affected, goes to a house of a couple who had the same name (i.e. Jones married to Jones) before marriage, and without saluting any one in the house, asks for a piece of corn bread, and gives the same to the child affected, the whooping cough will be cured.

(2) Tea made from a hornet's nest and given to the child is another cure.

(3) Wear piece of deer horn about neck.

(4) Hold child over privy during coughing spell and let him inhale the odor.

Chills. To break a baby's chill, dip a cotton string into turpentine, run the string through the baby's hand, as many times as the baby has had chills; undress the baby and tie the string about his waist. By allowing baby to wear it, he will never have a chill.

Slobbering Baby. Let him taste a number of things (anything) until he gets what he wants and he will not slobber any more.

Cramps and Rheumatism. Wear eel skin about waist or ankle to keep away cramps or rheumatism.

Chicken Pox. Lie down before a hen house door and let chickens fly over you.

Ear Ache. Go to the barber and have him stuff some kinky hair into the ear.

Diphtheria. Wear dirty stocking about the neck.

Child Birth. Place a "dirt dauber's" nest on the navel.

Abscess. Use cow dung for poultice.

Spasms. Pull off child's shirt while he is having the spasm and throw it into the fire.

Measles. Let child drink tea made from sheep dung, mixed with whiskey.

Sore eyes. (1) Bathe eyes in fasting spittle (before you eat or drink anything).

(2) Bathe eyes in urine.

(3) Apply breast milk.

Nutmeg worn about the neck will keep away several diseases.

EFFECT OF THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

In this section the writer enters upon a more or less speculative inquiry. He will attempt to point out how the social environment of the Negro produces in him mental attitudes which may create functional disturbances.

We shall first take up the question of fear. The South has used every method to make the Negro afraid to emerge from the sphere of activities to which it has consigned him. It may not be possible to estimate the relative importance of fear and complex sentiments in producing apparent social stability in the South; but fear does play an important role. When supposedly civilized intellectual white men of the South still speak of a general massacre to rid the South of the Negro, there is some basis for this fear. Negroes are constantly afraid that they will overstep the bounds set for them by white people. Besides being prohibited to enter certain towns in the South, Negroes ride through others with fear and trembling. A man once remarked to the writer that when he got on the street car in a certain southern city, he felt as if he were sitting on a keg of powder. When a colored woman, a stranger, in a certain southern city, crossed at the wrong signal and the policeman yelled to her,

"We string up niggers down here for that," we see the ever present effort to terrorize Negroes. A gray-haired colored gentleman once told the writer that he could not know what living sixty years with a feeling of uncertainty of life and property meant to one. No human organism in which the fear instinct is constantly aroused can function properly. To the extent that the Negro lives under the domination of fear, he is unhealthy.

It cannot be gainsaid that the Negro lives in a social atmosphere of repression. This extends from restricting his movements as a human being to preventing self-realization. "Colored people allowed on this elevator" concessively reads a sign in a modern skyscraper in Atlanta. "A college education spoils a Negro," is still the ground for restricting Negro education in the South. During slavery the Negro found a therapeutic escape from the repressing influences of this world through his religion and his spirituals. Today his religion and his songs are not as effective as mechanisms of release. Some believe the greater frequency of insanity among Negroes in the North is due to the tantalizing effect of the social environment that raises expectations that cannot be realized. If this explanation be true, then here we find an indisputable connection between the social environment and the mental health of the Negro.

The psychology of the Negro developed in the repressive environment in which he lives might be described as the psychology of the sick. It is a common experience to ask a Negro in the South how he feels and to receive the reply: "Right poorly." Further inquiry hardly ever shows that he is physically sick. This appears to be a purely defense mechanism. Subjectively, it affords the Negro that defense against self-depreciation that is intolerable. A sick man is not expected to assert himself. Objectively considered, he will elicit pity rather than resentment from the dominant race. The writer has noted on more than one occasion that even in cases where physical superiority counted, the Negro has hesitated to "let himself go," lest he appear to challenge the superior social position of the white man. This attitude in the Negro which we have described as the psychology of the sick, manifests itself in his religion. A social environment in which yearnings are repressed, usually produces a religion that looks beyond life for the satisfaction of desires.

The religion of the Negro has been characterized as the religion of death. It is for "dying souls." It is impossible to estimate what are the pathological results of the above outlook on life. It must certainly mean a reduction in that energy that characterizes healthy organisms.

In concluding this brief discussion of the probable effects of the social environment, we can only refer to the many daily irritations suffered by even the less sensitive members of the race. The writer knows several colored persons who avoid going into the white section of a city after meals, lest some anger provoking encounter bring on an attack of indigestion. Instance again the remark of a laboring Negro who says, "Makes me sick every time I get on a Jim Crow car." The treatment of Negroes in hospitals belongs in this class. The attention of the writer has been directed to

cases of nervous patients in which both physicians and nurses took pleasure in tormenting cultured patients by insisting upon calling them "auntie" or treating them as servants or even criminals.

In presenting the mental attitude of the Negro towards disease and his beliefs concerning cures, the writer has not claimed that they are found universally among the Negro. They do not represent racial traits. They represent what he has found among the lower culture groups. The writer has not gone into those psychological factors which we cannot discuss here; namely, the psychology of white people in relation to Negro health. This is of great consequence where we see a disposition on the part of whites to discount the value of Negro life, and to oppose efforts to reduce infant mortality and increase his resistance to disease.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE RACE PROBLEM*

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

THE WORKS on the racial problem, as it is called, that have appeared in the past few years, have testified to the gravity of the situation with which the people of the world are presented at present. The studies have ranged all the way from fulminations against a group that is particularly disliked or feared by the writer of a particular book or article, to careful, calm studies of the action of race and attempts to find out what the thing we call race-differences may be. Too often the works that prove most popular, and which excite the greatest attention, are those written by persons with facile pens, who have been caught up in the stream of popular superstitions and prejudices, and who contribute to the prevalent stereotypes that any given group of men may be lumped as incompetent or God-like, as inferior or superior, as being composed of dolts or geniuses.

It is, therefore, an occasions for particular attention when a work from somewhat a new angle gether in it a large number of anthropological, work in hand is undertaken in a serious, scientific spirit of openmindedness to the implications of

the problem being studied, and a willingness to look at it from all sides. The present book, *Christianity and the Race Problem*, is an achievement both in the field of literature of race and that of applied Christianity. The anthropologist may object that the author does not bring to his work professional knowledge, and that he certainly does not contribute anything other than what might be termed a digest service of the more outstanding literature of the subject; the devout Christian would be sure to assert that too much attention is paid to the things of this world, and not enough to the theological problems involved in the problem discussed. And both would be correct,—and short-sighted. For the work is certainly written from a religious point of view,—“The question with which . . . (it) . . . deals is whether the Christian Church has any contribution to make to the solution of the problems involved in the contact of different races of today . . .” Yet the author has brought together in it a large number of anthropological, biological, sociological and economic references that makes it as illuminating a discussion of the inflamed condition of the world resulting from racial friction as has been seen certainly in recent times.

Christianity and the Race Problem. By J. H. Oldham, M.A. New York: George H. Doran and Company, 1924, xx, 280 pp. \$2.25 net.

The problem is put succinctly in the first chapter. Perhaps one of the keenest observations is on the present situation and its historical past: "In the sixteenth century men fought about religion; . . . In the nineteenth century nationality was the driving force in European politics. . . . In the past Europe has been chastised with the whips of nationalism, in the future the world is to be chastised with the scorpions of racialism" (pp. 12-13). In the light of this problem, Mr. Oldham seeks the position of the Christian. Christianity, he tells us very frankly, is a dogma, a gospel. Yet,

Account must be taken of the facts of human nature. Whatever light biological and anthropological science can shed on them is to welcome. If physical and mental differences exist between the different races the more we know about it the better. If it is assumed that a particular quality or capacity is there when it is not there, or that it is absent when it is really present, arrangements made on this mistaken assumption will inevitably suffer shipwreck. It might help to cool the passions aroused in controversies regarding the capacities of different races, if the disputants would remember that vehement assertions on one side or the other make not the slightest difference; the last word lies with the facts. "Just as little can we afford to shut our eyes to the facts of history. Into the making of races as they are found in the world today have gone the slow and silent influences of soil and climate, the toil, struggles, adventures, heroisms, sufferings, discoveries, insights and creative efforts of successive generation. What centuries have built cannot be treated as if it did not exist (p. 23).

From this statement of the problem and the position concerning it with which he is dealing, the author passes directly to his subject, and from here until the last few chapters, there is a gratifying tendency to stick to his last, and not to indulge in moralizations along with the argument in hand. What are the causes of antagonism between races, he asks? First is the economic, a point that, unfortunately, is only too true but is forgotten in later moralizings in the last chapters. Then, there are the political causes; third, there are the "differences which may arise in national temperament and character; the extent to which these are due to tradition or to biological inheritance being reserved for later discussion. Fourth, come "difficulties which may arise from differences in civilization," plus the barrier of language; then, the feeling of superiority in one group toward another again makes trouble, while

finally the question of intermarriage, its prohibition or desire, further causes friction. Going on to a discussion of the significance of race, there is consideration of much literature on the subjects,—the biologists, the anthropologists and the psychologists all contributing. As to the fact of inequality, Mr. Oldham considers those writers of what may be termed the alarmist school,—Grant, Stoddard, Josey, McDougal, and certain of the psychological testers, and then proceeds in a very excellent manner to do his bit to squash the Nordic myth, and to bring out a realization of some of the historic and social reasons for the so-called inequalities. He recognizes, quite rightly, the existence of individual inequality in a given characteristic, but also protests, and just as rightly, against the assumption of a similar inequality among racial groups, stressing the fact of overlapping which is always present. This is brought out in his chapter "The Truth of Inequality." And there are quotations from Grant and Josey, and his comments, which are quite well quotable here:

One writer speaks of the passing of the Nordic race, "with its capacity for leadership and fighting" as a disaster to civilization. Another says: "Just as we see man as a species dominating, excelling, and living on other forms of life, so we see the white race excelling the other races, acting as masters, and drawing to themselves a large part of the wealth of the world." If these are our standards of superiority, have not our values ceased to be Christian? Have we not even turned our backs on civilizations? For such standards are hardly distinguishable from the law of the jungle (pp. 77-78).

From this point on, what we get is largely British rationalization about the ethics of empire. The author, being a thorough-going liberal, is quite emphatic, and not unjustifiably so, concerning the right of any society to protect itself if it so desires; there is also the necessity, which he stresses, for facing facts,—to recognize that the Negro is in America, and cannot be wished away, or that the White man is in South Africa, and cannot be taken out. But to indulge in a deal of talk about the beautiful intentions of the British to bring civilization to the lower peoples, to speak of first the fact that difference does not mean inferiority, and then to remark that a primitive people has a culture a thousand years "behind" our own, is not thorough logic and does not well become a work such as this. Then, too, the chap-

ter on India, with its good advice, perhaps, but still its adherence to the myth of "India as a whole" and what she wants, with its final solution, "The rest is in the hands of God"—perhaps, at that, the only solution until the right of the Indians is recognized to do with themselves as they please—all this reminds one forcibly of the liberality of the late Labor government toward questions concerning Britain, and its Tory attitude toward empire. And this is unfortunate, because Mr. Oldham is too well-informed, and too liberal a man, to give way to rationalizations such as he indulges in in the last part of the book.

In the chapters on intermarriage, social and political equality, he again comes back to an excellent presentation of the case,—he shows, for example, how there is little desire on the part of the American Negro for intermarriage, and that most of the mingling of racial strains is due to the lack of protection for Negro women in this country, and how this phenomena is a sociological one present wherever there are two races together.

In his discussion of population, there is little that the student who has read Malthus and Carr-Saunders will not already know, and this with all the good points and weaknesses of both works.

The final discussion is one based mainly on the application of Christian principles to the problem in hand, and is rather the subject for the theologian than for the sociologist. But the "guiding principles" with which the author ends are worth mentioning: First, the ignoring or under-rating of the importance of race is not to be countenanced, since the members of a race have not only a common biological inheritance but a common history in the main. Second, however, we must not let the importance of race obscure the importance of the individual. Next, racial differences are differences "within a fundamental unity." And the conclusion is "that the fundamental issues in racial relations are not ethnological and biological, but ethical." And if, by ethical is meant, as most probably is likely, what the ethnologists mean when they say "cultural," the present reviewer will be the first to say "Amen."

GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

Marcus Garvey, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois—these figures personify the three most powerful currents of thought among those Negroes who are demanding a place in the sun. The extremist section, openly hostile to the white man since their disillusionment after the war, have their eyes fixed on complete independence in Africa; they form a natural reaction to the Ku Klux Klan, and in spite of fanaticism and credulity need to be taken seriously. The tradition of Hampton and Tuskegee is for cordial coöperation between the races, looking toward manual and moral development with little thought of equality at the polls. The third group, passionately resentful of the existence of the color-bar and all it implies, are out to force the whites to yield them respect and fair treatment; they are few in numbers, but vigorous and intelligent, and are gaining a wide hearing among their people. These "Negro Race-Movements in American" A. M. Chirgwin interprets for English readers in the February *Contemporary Review*.

Pursuing its wonted predilection for pungent irony, the *American Mercury* offers in its January issue a study of "Homo Africanus" made by L. M. Hussey while serving as publicity agent in a financial drive for a well-known Negro educational institution. He detects, behind the posture of flattery and good-humored servility that the "good nigger" has learned to affect as a defense mechanism in his dangerous environment, a whimsical cynicism that is profoundly distrustful—contemptuous even—of the white man and his advances. Race riots and lynchings follow the occasional revelation of this true attitude, which shakes the foundations of white supremacy more than open defiance.

* * *

The Klan deserves to be studied carefully as one of the major historical and social forces in this country. It is evidence of a deep-seated racial conflict that has assumed a superficial religious aspect. In the North and West the old

American stock, with its heritage of Puritanism and democracy, is fast dying out, and its proud sense of superiority has been suddenly shaken by fear and anger at the aliens who are taking its place. Frank Bohn, dissecting the movement in the first article of the *American Journal of Sociology*, describes its organization in a typical middle-west community and draws a full-length portrait of the founder, W. J. Simmons.

* * *

A cultivated man with blue eyes and brown hair, Nordic features and white skin, yet of Negro blood—what sort of a life does he lead these days in America? An unnamed writer who thus describes himself relates in the February *Century* several of his experiences as a first-hand document on the race question. "White, But Black" he calls it, and gives us, with little comment, glimpses of what that problem means to a man who is accepted as a member of the superior race only at the price of dishonest silence. Education, he feels, only renders the position of the Negro more paradoxical and full of bitterness.

* * *

Intelligence testing that is thinly veiled propaganda for a general acceptance of the Nordic myth comes in for vigorous criticism at the hands of Walter Scott McNutt in *Education* for February. If the nation is to be made into a real democracy, he says, the high schools and colleges must lie open to all the children of all the people, and one of their greatest tasks is the "Salvage of the Non-Nordic," who are not inferior in mental ability but the misunderstood products of a different social environment. Thinking in terms of the student rather than of abstract subject matter, education must realize that out of the most unpromising material have come some of the world's most useful men and women. Individualistic teachers with ideas of race superiority have no place in a scheme of mental and moral socialization.

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The same false conception of Nordics as the salt of the earth is the subject of a series of articles appearing in the *Nation* by Franz Boas, M. J. Herskovits, A. A. Goldenweiser, Hendrik van Loon, and others. "What is a Race?" asks

Professor Boas in the January 28 issue. It cannot be defined by mental or physical traits, for there is no such thing as uniformity or purity of type, and with our present knowledge we cannot make any generalized characterization. Race antagonism is by no means universal or natural: it appears only when definitely cultivated. Mr. Herskovits, writing on "Brain and the Immigrant" under date of February 11, thinks that American prejudices are due mainly to the dislike of anything "different." Recent arrivals fail in our mental tests because of variations in cultural background. Restriction of immigration should not be made a racial question, but rather one of individual fitness, which is to be judged by much more reliable and less sweeping tests than we have yet devised.

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"Georgia"—a state of physical beauty, yet overcast with something furtive and uncanny, a spiritual gloom. W. E. B. DuBois recounts in the same magazine for January 21 its passionate ethnic and economic history since the Civil War. The exploitation of poor white and Negro labor that marked the transition from agriculture to industry under Henry W. Grady; the fomenting of hatred between the two races as a profitable means of preventing the political or industrial emancipation of either; the empty and dangerous bribery that offered the whites social superiority in place of genuine advancement in any field—this is the policy he charges with responsibility for the ignorance, flair for lynching, and Klanishness for which the state is known. Its future lies in the intelligence and union of the despised working classes, white and black.

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Dr. DuBois in the February *Forum* presents Africa's answer to the question: "What is Civilization?" Three things that continent has given to the world—the beginning of culture, the village unit, and art in sculpture and music. The first mastery over wild beasts, the weather, disease, and the use of iron belonged to the Negroes, and the early advances of Egypt and Mesopotamia owed much to them. Their villages have served as the immemorial seats of training in religion, industry, formal education, and socialized government. And they have realized a very intense sort

of beauty in their folk lore, modelling, and synopated rhythms. The backwardness of Africa since 1600 is due to the draining away of its best manhood in slavery.

* * *

GEORGIA WOMEN INAUGURATE IMPORTANT HEALTH WORK

Two years ago, at the suggestion of the Georgia Race Relations Committee, the Methodist missionary women of Georgia provided funds for the employment by the State Board of Health of a colored public health nurse. Their purpose was to call attention to a great human need previously neglected, and to demonstrate the possibility of meeting it. Their hope was that, if the work was successful, the state would then take it over and make it permanent.

The results have just been reported to the North Georgia Woman's Missionary Conference, in session in Atlanta, by Dr. Joe P. Bowdoin, of the State Board of Health, in a most commendatory survey of the nurse's work. In the past year, said Dr. Bowdoin, she has rendered intensive service in thirty-two counties, visited 785 homes, spoken to 82 groups aggregating over three thousand people, given instruction to several hundred midwives, and greatly facilitated the State Board's efforts in behalf of colored people. The Board will not consider having her work discontinued. The demonstration is a conspicuous success.

"One of Georgia's biggest problems is that of midwifery," said Dr. Bowdoin, "and it is probably in this field that your nurse has done her most important work. Over a third of all the mothers in Georgia are attended by midwives, of whom the majority are Negroes. Many of these midwives are ignorant, superstitious and wholly untrained. The result is a deplorable morality rate of mothers and babies. The nurse enrolls these midwives in classes, gives them a course of ten lessons, and then examines them for a certificate. In one of these classes over ninety women were enrolled. This work alone will mean the saving of unnumbered lives which otherwise would be sacrificed needlessly. The fact that similar local work in Macon has reduced

child mortality forty-eight percent in three years indicates the vast importance of the work which this nurse is doing."

The story deserves to be passed on because it demonstrates a new and unusual form of missionary effort—the sort of social service which reveals community need and stimulates society to take up its task and go forward with it through the regularly constituted social agencies. There are many other states and communities where similar efforts would bear fruit a hundred fold.

—R. B. ELEAZER.

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RACE RELATIONS CONTEST FOR COLLEGE STUDENTS

The Commission on Inter-racial Coöperation is offering three cash prizes, aggregating one hundred seventy-five dollars, for the three best orations or essays on some phase of race relations, submitted by students of the white colleges of the thirteen Southern States, including Kentucky and Oklahoma. If prize winning papers shall have been delivered as orations on some public college occasion or published in college periodicals, during present school year, the prizes will be respectively one hundred dollars, fifty dollars and twenty-five dollars.

If prize winning papers have not been so delivered or published, the prizes will be respectively seventy-five dollars, thirty-five dollars and fifteen dollars.

The purpose of the differential is to encourage local college publicity for the papers submitted, but at the same time to make it possible for any number of students to compete.

Selection of topic, manner of treatment, length and form of paper are left wholly to the discretion of the contestant. All papers must reach the office of the Commission in Atlanta not later than June 15th. They will be judged by a competent committee on the basis of matter only and awards announced as soon thereafter as possible. Anyone desiring further information may write to R. B. Eleazer, Educational Director, Commission on Interracial Coöperation, 409 Palmer Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.

Government and Public Affairs

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

MUNICIPAL RESEARCH ABROAD AND AT HOME*

C. A. BEARD

IT IS a pleasure to see the researchers again after so many years absence. I come back with a greater confidence in the value of the work we are doing and a deeper appreciation of its significance for the development of popular government throughout the world. I have definitely cast off all my lingering suspicions about the value of science. That science is a failure is a delusion. I have seen with my own eyes the failures of many delusions without science, and so my vote goes to Haldane rather than to Belloc, Russell, Chesterton, and the other philosophers who are fond of harping on the failures of science and capitalism—as if the two were of necessity inseparable twins. I have seen handicrafts in the Orient as they stand substantially unchanged in the course of centuries, and I can say to you, fellow researchers, that I would rather work in any modern factory that I have ever seen in the United States than in any handicraft shop that came under my eyes in the course of thousands of miles of travel in the Far East. The best factories of the West offer conditions of life and labor, of clean, healthful, and joyous living that seem like the kingdom of heaven beside those to be found in most, if not all the handicraft shops, that I visited in the Orient. To talk about “the good old days” before steam engines and science is to delude ourselves with words. Science is young, and though many follies have been committed in its name, it offers the best hope to mankind struggling to conquer itself and the world. So I want to say to you that, after wandering in many places where philosophy consists of abstractions and where industry is based on common-sense and the rule of thumb, I am more convinced than ever that we shall make progress by applying

the methods of natural science to the study of government and administration, not by putting on sack cloth and ashes or by waiting in the streets for political messiahs.

It is with a good deal of pleasure, therefore, that I can report to you some encouraging signs of development in municipal research in the Far East and in Europe. Shortly after the World War was over, a Japanese statesman, who had seen long service in the government of his country, Viscount Goto, came to the United States once more to seek for new things that might be of use to his country in grappling with the problems of the modern age. He travelled widely and visited many American institutions. When he struck his balance sheet, he came to the conclusion that among the novel developments of recent times, the New York Bureau of Municipal Research had more to offer his countrymen than any other institution for the advancement of the science of government. So on his return to Tokyo, he established there an Institute for Municipal Research and secured for it an endowment of about four million yen, which in terms of American costs, is equal to about four million dollars. He thought that it should have a wide citizen support, and accordingly he organized a board of trustees composed of more than a hundred leading citizens. He created an inner body of directors, assumed the presidency himself, and organized a staff with a managing director. In the meantime he was elected mayor of Tokyo by the city council and thus occupied a dual position as head of the Institute for Municipal Research and mayor of the capital city of Japan. All the high officials in his municipal administration were also interested in the Institute.

The new Institute was installed in one of the modern office buildings in the heart of Tokyo.

* An address given at the Fall meeting of the Governmental Research Conference at Cambridge.

An excellent library of works on municipal government was assembled. A staff of competent men was engaged to study a number of special Tokyo problems, all of which will sound familiar to you: consolidation of the metropolitan area, extension of water, gas, sewer, and other services, public health, taxation and finance, new sources of revenue, and planning of new streets. From time to time the President of the Institute for Municipal Research would report to himself as mayor the findings of the staff of specialists. With the support of the city council, Mayor Goto drove ahead with unrelenting zeal to carry into execution the plans agreed upon. Thus science and action, plan and realization, went forward together.

After the terrible disaster of September 1, 1923, the President of the Institute for Municipal Research became Home Minister of Japan and head of the Imperial Board of Reconstruction. He at once gathered around him the leading specialists who had been associated with him in the Institute. It was with their assistance that he prepared his program of reconstruction and it was with their support that he was pressing it upon the Parliament when a political incident caused the fall of the ministry of which he was a member.

Mayors and ministers come and go, but the Institute for Municipal Research goes on forever. When the plans projected by the Goto group in the Home Office were taken up by its successors, there was still great work to be done by the Institute. In Japan, as in other countries, the capacity of technicians and managers to plan and construct, is ahead of the ability of the masses to grasp and support. The Tokyo Institute, the city of Tokyo, and the Home Office had at their command Japanese engineers and city planners of the highest order—men trained in Japanese universities and abroad, men acquainted with the best that the modern world has to offer. But it is one thing to conceive the best plan for rebuilding a city and another thing to get the voters to agree to have it carried out.

The leaders in the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research knew this in theory and from practice. So when the plans for the new city were delayed by endless quarrels and bickerings, the Institute men "took off their coats" and went out

among the people holding meetings, giving addresses, and explaining the nature and benefits of the new plan. Only recently the news has come that the victory for the city plan is assured. The temporary structures in one large section of the burnt area have begun to come down to make room for wider streets and the permanent buildings. For this triumph which now promises to extend to the whole burnt area of Tokyo, the Institute for Municipal Research may justly claim a great share of the credit. And indirectly all the members of the research movement in America whose work arrested the attention of the Japanese may shine a bit with reflected glory.

From China also there are rumors of a budding research movement. A number of young men in China and the United States are deeply interested in the idea. Several Chinese are studying at the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. A committee of Chinese has been formed to promote a project for an institute in Shanghai or Peking. China, as all the world knows, moves slowly, but China moves. I know some of the men behind this movement. They are keen; they understand the research idea; they know how pressing are the needs of their country; they are determined. There is good reason for believing that in due time an institute for municipal research will take leadership in municipal improvements in China.

By a strange stroke of fortune, it is from the former assistant mayor of Tokyo, Mr. T. Maeda, now with the labor bureau of the League of Nations at Geneva that I learned only a few days ago of the proposed establishment of a sort of world bureau of municipal research under the auspices of the League. At its meeting last September, the Assembly of the League instructed the secretariat to prepare a plan for inter-municipal coöperation to be submitted to the next Assembly for its approval. It may very well be that at one of our annual meetings a few years hence we shall be able to announce the creation of a new super-state—an international institute for municipal research which will make the experience of the world available to the humblest officer of the humblest city or village in any land.

Are not these achievements and these promises of achievements encouraging to all of those who have labored according to their lights in the re-

search movement of the United States? But we are not forging ahead rapidly enough ourselves. Instead of a hundred or more delegates at our convention, we ought to have a thousand or more. Is there anything more important to American democracy than the study of the technical methods for improving administration in every field? A great society that cannot administer cannot endure. Neither state paganism nor state Christianity could prevent the most marvellous administrative organism of the ancient world from going to pieces. And the breakdown of the administrative machine, or the inability to make one adequate to the exigencies of the empire contributed heavily to the final ruin of the Roman system. The business of modern government is mainly administrative; if we fail there, we fail everywhere. If that is true, and I believe it is, then the research band ought to grow into an army. Its meetings

ought to attract a large number of public-spirited citizens. It ought to be sustained by adequate finances.

Above all, our national organization should be strengthened. There should be a closer federation crowned by a national institute to serve local institutes and cities and states all over the Union—all over the world. It ought to be a clearing house, a center of research, a distributor of information, and an institution to supply expert service as well as ideas and plans. It ought to be a place for the generation of power, so that the lamp of science may be kept continually burning before the door of every municipal official in America. Is that not an idea worth working for? Is there any better way of serving this halting, stumbling democracy of ours than by trying to bring the light of pertinent fact and tested experiment to bear upon the issues with which it is wrestling?

SELECTIVE IMMIGRATION: THE NEW MERCANTILISM

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK

I

DURING the few months previous to the passage of the recent immigration law, readers of American newspapers and periodicals were overwhelmed by a flood of discussion concerning one phase or another of the immigration problem. Almost every conceivable view was advanced, ranging in type from those dominated by passionate stupidity and prejudice to those showing a certain amount of philosophic calm and intelligent insight. It must be admitted, however, that in numbers and in vigor of expression the former were more conspicuous. With the passing of the "Immigration Act of 1924," there came a focusing of interest on Japan's reaction to exclusion, but when sensational incidents ceased, popular interest in the immigration problem waned. There still remains, however, much food for the thought of the serious student and certain phases of the matter are still worthy of some discussion.

The immigration problem is indeed perplexing but it is not new in the history of the world nor one that presents features here in America differing from the fundamental pattern. Men live in groups and are more or less perfectly adjusted

to their physical environment, tilling the soil and utilizing the natural resources. Through interaction with environment and with each other, culture comes into being, in material forms such as machines and buildings, and in immaterial forms, comprising customs, tradition, institutions, tastes, values, standards of living, forms of government and the like. Now when men of a certain group become maladjusted to their physical environment because of pressure of population on resources or because of exclusion from the bounty of nature by a dominating class, or more rarely, if they become maladjusted to their culture because of political or religious heterodoxy, they tend to migrate. The emigration of course depends on means of transportation and communication. There must be a stimulus of what seems to be a more favorable environment and the possibility of response through adequate transportation facilities.

The problem of immigration then, is the problem of adjustment of a new group of individuals, set in motion by these causes, to an established group of a given biological type, adjusted to a given physical environment and possessing a given culture or civilization. The effect of the move-

ment on the established group will depend first on the numbers of the newcomers, second on their characteristics acquired from their previous physical and cultural environment, and thirdly upon their innate characteristics, physical and mental.

The numbers of immigrants and their cultural traits, such as standard of living, degree of skill, literacy, political ideas, etc., are the basis of the immigration problem in its economic aspects and viewed as a matter of assimilation. These considerations are both important and that of numbers is rendered more so by investigations of Thompson, East and other Malthusians who show that the land resources of even the United States are decidedly limited and that with the present rate of increase saturation is a matter of decades rather than of centuries. In the brief discussion, however, the emphasis will be laid chiefly on the innate traits of the immigrant in relation to America and American civilization.

II

There is no doubt that the growing stress on the importance of innate traits is well founded and furnishes a healthy antidote to the smug confidence in the power of the melting pot and the magic influence of American ideals to make Lincolns out of immigrants of low I. Q. We do not need to worry so much about the acquired disposition of the Italian to eat garlic or indulge in blood feuds or to grow geraniums in the bath tub. The second generation will tend to take an interest in baseball scores, will chew gum with great dexterity, and in attitude, belief and standards, will approach the American type, which may or may not be an unmitigated gain for themselves or world civilization. However, we cannot wholly separate heredity from environment; both are necessary and one means but little unless the other is defined. Heredity is that which makes individuals or races different under the same environment and makes them the same under different environments. Immigrants who come to this country with fairly equal environment backgrounds differ tremendously in their achievements. Furthermore their offspring according to their innate endowments will tend either to mould their environment and to make notable contributions to our national life, or to fill our almshouses and institutions for the insane and feeble-minded. Michael

Pupin comes to this country and becomes one of our greatest contributors to science. Another of the same general environmental background becomes a problem for the social agencies and founds a family line which creates an inferno of degeneracy and social maladjustment into which social workers may throw snowballs to their hearts content. There is no space to thrash out the vexed problem of nature vs. nurture but there is good evidence that the great differences which exist between men, in physical traits, intelligence and temperament are in large part due to heredity. While genius may be repressed by lack of opportunity, yet more men of achievement are to be obtained by securing a supply of superior germplasm than through a superlative amount of general education. Germplasm such as that of the Edwards family is more valuable than a high per capita school expenditure. Native capacity is tremendously enhanced by training and opportunity but it is the thesis of this article that one of the most precious possessions of any society is the high grade germplasm of its members. By high grade is meant predisposing to creative intellectual activity, physical perfection and social nature.

It was once thought that the end and goal of national effort should be the collection within the country of as much gold as possible, by means of a favorable balance of trade. This doctrine was known as mercantilism but our ideas in that matter have changed since the seventeenth century. The new mercantilism will appreciate the precious qualities of human capacity and will seek to attract superior individuals whose achievements will enable nations to rise to a higher plane of civilization. It is not claimed that culture is wholly biologically determined for history shows culture changes uncorrelated with biological changes in the population, yet the biological foundations are basic and other things being equal the achievement of a society will vary with the quality of the population. If civilization advances on the two legs of invention and imitation, we need that biological variant known as genius to furnish the invention and high average ability to make for discriminative imitation. Even if it be argued that culture is more or less self-perpetuating and determined by its own antecedents rather than by any unique genius, still the innate ability is necessary to appropriate a complex culture and the

greater the ability the more rapid the recombination of antecedents into a new invention. Furthermore for better or worse we are committed to a democratic form of government and it is absolutely impossible for such a government to function without adequate leadership and a fair average intelligence. It is not so certain that the gold of the mercantilistic days made nations great and powerful but it is certain that a high degree of innate intelligence is indispensable to democracy. The new mercantilism will appreciate that fact and seek to meet the need by a scientific immigration policy.

III

There is no space to enter into a detailed discussion of the recent immigration law which has met with favorable comment by such writers as Fairchild¹ and Garvis² and has been ably criticized by Woolston.³ The motives lying back of the law tended to be emotional rather than intellectual and yet certain marked advantages can be claimed over that which preceded in that numbers are reduced, provision is made for the return of aliens after temporary residence abroad, children are considered of the same nationality as the parent, the quota arrangement tends to eliminate the monthly rush, and most important of all, visas are issued abroad by the Consuls. This last provision will tend to lessen suffering from rejection on this side, and permits selection by the Consuls according to certain low minimum standards, although this selection will not determine to any extent the numbers admitted. The present discussion is to be chiefly concerned with the biological presuppositions of the law and the fundamental fallacy of group selection with which they are bound up. The growing stress on biological factors is commendable but it is associated with clumsy methods of obtaining ends and has itself assumed perverted forms. The shift to 1890 as the base for quota calculations was motivated in part by a belief that recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were contributing an undue proportion of defectives to our institutions and also, in part, by faith in Nordic superiority.

The evidence in support of the belief in immigrant degeneracy is chiefly that presented by H. H. Laughlin⁴ in a report to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, in which all logical allowances for environmental conditions, which may be unfavorable to the immigrant, the recent immigrants, as a whole, present a higher percentage of inborn socially inadequate qualities than do the older stocks." (P. 755). This work has been vigorously criticized by Gillman⁵ and analyzed in a less acrimonious fashion by Jennings.⁶ Gillman questions whether the enumeration of defectives in institutions reveals the proportional occurrence of these inadequacies among the various race and nativity groups, whether the data really disclose significant differences in occurrence among the various races and nationalities, and finally whether the inadequacies are really innate. It is certainly true that since only a small proportion of the defectives in the United States are in institutions, it is questionable to reason from the proportions which have received institutional care to the characteristics of entire immigrant groups. The fact that the Negro is in the institutions for the feeble-minded in a proportion only 16.32% of his proportion in the population at large at once casts suspicion on the entire procedure. (P. 774). Even if Laughlin's data be accepted it is apparent that the alien stocks do not compare unfavorably with the native stocks in every trait. As Jennings points out Ireland takes first place as a contributor to both insanity and dependency and to all defects taken together, while Austria-Hungary contributes fewer defectives than any of the European countries either north or south.

Feeble-mindedness is one of the most important social inadequacies and one concerning which it is possible to obtain more satisfactory evidence than is available from an analysis of institutional populations. The army during the war was a reasonably fair sample of the male population at large and in this group 22,741 cases of mental defect were found, most of whom, were recommended for discharge as inadequate to meet the

¹ Fairchild, H. P. "The Immigration Law of 1924," *Qu. Jr. of Econ.* 38; pp. 653-65. Aug., 1924.

² Garvis, R. L. "How the New Immigration Law Works," *Scribners*, 76; pp. 183-8, Aug., 1924.

³ Woolston, H. "Wanted an American Immigration Policy," *Jr. Soc. Forces*, Sept., 1924.

⁴ Laughlin, H. H. "Analysis of America's Modern Melting Pot." Hearing before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. House of Representatives 67 Congress 3d Session, Nov. 21, 1924. Serial 7-C Gov. Pnt. Office, 1923. Pp. 725-831. Immigration, in which it is concluded that "mak-

⁵ Gillman, J. M. "Statistics and the Immigration Problem." *Am. Jr. of Soc.* Vol. XXX No. 1, July, 1924. P. 29 ff.

⁶ Jennings, H. S. "Undesirable Aliens." *Survey*, Dec. 15, 1923.

test of life conditions. For 21,858 cases⁷ there is data as to place of birth and if the number of mental defectives of a given nativity be divided by the number of males of that nativity in the country who are between the ages of 20 to 44, it is found that of the native born whites, including those of foreign and mixed parentage, 110.9 per 100,000 entered the army and were diagnosed as feeble-minded. For the native born colored the corresponding figure is 213 and for the foreign born white 51.5. If an analysis be made of the foreign born by country of birth, it is found that those of Russian birth contribute 69.6 feeble-minded soldiers per 100,000 males of all ages, those born in Greece 40.4, in Poland 22.3, Austria-Hungary 17.9, Ireland 12.95, Canada 12.9, Scandinavia 12.8, Germany 5.37, and England, Scotland and Wales 5. While these figures are not entirely satisfactory from a statistical point of view, they suggest certain conclusions. 1. The foreign-born compare very favorably with the native born in freedom from mental defect. 2. The present methods of selection, however, are inadequate. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923, the total number of immigrants certified as being feeble-minded, idiots, or imbeciles was but 107⁸ and yet following a series of years in which the number rejected for this cause was larger, considerable numbers of feeble-minded were found among the foreign-born soldiers. The Italian mental defectives, alone numbered 663 and if it be assumed that 1.5% of the 3,500,000 men in the camps were of Italian birth, then 663 out of 52,000 were feeble-minded, or over one per cent. 3. There does seem to be a rough correspondence between the latitude of the place of origin in Europe and tendency to mental defect and Laughlin's conclusion seems substantiated to a certain extent in so far as that particular social inadequacy is concerned.

The important thing to remember, however, is the fact of overlapping which is so often forgotten. The best of the southern Europeans are far better than the poorest of the northern Europeans and while the present law may have a certain biological validity, being based on group selection it is a most clumsy instrument with which to obtain a desired end. The sheep may

not be separated *efficiently* from the goats on the basis of geography.

Another phase of the interest in the biological aspects of immigration, but far less justified, is the recrudescence of race dogmatism.⁹ The Nordic myth has succeeded the Aryan myth of Gobineau and Chamberlain. According to the Nordic epic, long ages ago there arose in northern Europe a people tall of stature, blond of hair, blue of eye and long of head, a master race chosen to inherit the earth. Being a superior people they must have been the chief contributors to culture and therefore wherever culture exists there must also be present Nordic blood. Hence it is quite logical to explain Mediterranean civilization as being the work of wandering Nordics who chanced that way. More recent times find the Nordic race in possession of most of the globe but passing into extinction through bloody wars which inferior races are craven enough to avoid. It is held by Grant and his followers that the native stock of this country, which is chiefly Nordic, is being threatened with extinction by hordes of lesser breeds from southern and Eastern Europe.¹⁰

A recent attempt to invoke the racial factor has been made by Brigham¹¹ who seeks to explain the superior scores of the older immigrants, taking the army tests, on the ground that they have a larger percentage of Nordic blood. This work has been vigorously criticized by Young on the ground that to assume the army sample to be representative of entire races and because of the naive acceptance cultural factors have been ignored, that it is wrong by Brigham of Grant's anthropology. Hexter and Myerson launched a heated attack on Brigham which not only questions the scientific character of his work but accuses him of rank prejudice and propagandizing intent. They criticize Brigham's argument that the tests measured native intelligence and claim that the speed factor was a handicap to the foreign born and that with increased length of residence the gain on the Alpha test is greater than the gain on the Beta test thus show-

⁷ See Letter to N. Y. Times Apr. 8, 1924, by Henry Fairfield Osborne and reply Apr. 13, by Franz Boaz.

⁸ Grant, Madison, "The Passing of the Great Race," Scribners. "The Racial Transformation of America," No. Am. Rev., Vol. 219, No. 3, Mar., 1924.

⁹ Brigham, C. C. "A study of American Intelligence."

¹⁰ Young, K. Science. Vol. LVII, No. 1484, June 8, 1923. Pp. 666-670.

¹¹ Hexter, M., & Myerson, A. "13.77 Versus 12.05: A Study in Probable Error," Mental Hygiene. Vol. VIII, Jan. 1924. No. 1.

⁷ Bailey, Pearce & Haber, Roy. Reprint No. 94, p. 29. Reprint from Mental Hygiene, Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 564-596. July, 1920.

⁸ Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1923. Pp. 142-43.

ing the influence of education and familiarity with the culture of America. Bagley¹⁴ has made some shrewd attacks on the claims made for Nordic superiority on the basis of the army tests. He shows that a high correlation exists between the quality of the educational systems in given areas and the test achievements of men from the corresponding localities, thus claiming that it is education rather than pure native ability that is measured by mental tests. Furthermore he shows that the pure Nordics, if there be such, of the southern mountains do not compare very favorably with the northern negroes and thus puts Brigham in the position of being forced to admit either that the tests were affected by education or that the Nordic is not always superior. In general in view of the possibility of unfair sampling and of influence of cultural factors of the tests scores, the superiority of the Nordic intelligence must be regarded as unproven. Still it would be rash to deny that mental as well as physical differences may exist between races and yet if an acceptable standard be established, further investigation may justify ranking as to superiority and inferiority along specifically defined lines. Certainly the importance of innate traits does not diminish with the collapse of the claim of Nordic superiority and we can hardly agree with Smertenko¹⁵ that the elimination of inferior types is not a matter of concern here in America or share his faith in environment when he says, "But our own vast and sparsely settled country need not take up the surgeons scalpel until it has tried therapeutics. It can wait to see the wonderful effects of its climate and soil, its principles of liberty and its democratic institutions."

The studies dealing with the children of immigrants in the schools are far more significant than the results of the army tests given to adults. Here we have linguistic and cultural factors held constant account to a much greater extent, making comparison with children of native American stock fair, in most respects, and certainly permitting valid comparisons between children of the different foreign nationalities. The studies

of Young,¹⁶ Murdock,¹⁷ Feingold,¹⁸ Brown,¹⁹ Berry,²⁰ Pintner,²¹ and Colvin²² for the most part show decided differences in the test achievement of children of different national groups, although certain of the writers are inclined to feel that the language factor may have played a part, especially when comparisons are made with American children of American born parents. In general the showing of the recent immigrant stocks is unfavorable although there are several exceptions. While important differences in the innate qualities of different national groups may, and very likely do exist, it must be pointed out that individual selection is better than group selection and it is this simple fact that is ignored by the enactors of the recent immigration law.

With due precaution against Utopian delusions, one may venture to set forth what seem to be the principles of a scientific immigration policy:

1. There should be individual selection based on scientific measurement and evaluation made as completely objective as possible.
2. Stress should be laid on the new mercantilism or in other words positive eugenics applied to immigration regulation.
3. There should be a minimum standard based on the average quality of the present population and a regulation of numbers, by raising this standard.
4. Selection should be made abroad.
5. There should be complete registration of the immigrants and an organization for their distribution and adjustment.
6. As suggested by Woolston, it might be well to have a simple law administered by an executive commission aided by the advice of research organizations.

The idea of selective immigration is an old one and not altogether unfamiliar to statesman as shown by the able plea for such a system made by Secretary Davis.²³ The difficulties are considerable and of course that which is good and desirable and that which is likely to be acceptable are two

¹⁶ Young, K. "Mental Differences in Certain Immigrant Groups," University of Oregon Publication, Vol. 1, July 1922. No. 11.

¹⁷ Murdock, K. "Race Differences in New York City," School and Society, 11, 1920.

¹⁸ Feingold, G. A. "Intelligence of the First Generation of Immigrant Groups," Jr. Ed. Psych. Vol. XV, No. 2, Feb. 1924. P. 65 ff.

¹⁹ Brown, G. L. "Intelligence as Related to Nationality," Jr. Ed. Research, 1922, Apr. Pp. 324-327.

²⁰ Berry, C. S. "The Classification By Tests of Intelligence of Ten Thousand First Grade Pupils," Jr. Ed. Research, Oct. 1922.

²¹ Pintner, R., and Keller, R. "Intelligence Tests of Foreign Children," Jr. Ed. Psych., 13 Aug. 1922. 214 ff.

²² Colvin, S. S., and Allen, R. D. "Mental Tests and Linguistic Ability," Jr. Ed. Psych. Vol. XIV, Jan. 1923. P. 1 ff.

²³ Davis, J. J. "Selective Immigration," The Forum. Sept. 1923.

¹⁴ Bagley, W. "The Army Tests and the Pro-Nordic Propaganda," Ed. Rev., Apr. 1924.

¹⁵ Smertenko, Johan J. "The Claim of Nordic Race Superiority," Current History Apr., 1924. P. 15 ff.

different things. The effective operation of a selective plan designed to skim the cream from Europe depends on the development of objective tests of socially desirable traits. Much has been done along this line already, for tests and examinations of all kinds have been developed and rating scales have come into use. Considerable progress has been made in the development of non-language tests and there is no reason to think that it would be impossible to evolve a system of examination and rating that would in general select individuals of high capacity and general desirability. A scale could be devised which would allow a certain number of points for various traits and qualifications. Mental capacity as determined by tests, education and training, freedom from taint of insanity, physical fitness, quality of parentage are among the considerations that should be taken into account. Final scores might consist of a weighted average of component scores for particular traits or be a sum of the partial scores as in the case of a school examination where a certain amount of credit is given for each question. In any case a large amount of research and some arbitrary evaluation would be necessary in order to arrange a scale. If for example, physical fitness is that of a Lionel Strongfort shall it receive the same number of points as the intelligence of an Einstein? Probably not, but the weighting of the various traits would have to be left to a research committee, and it is likely that a fairly satisfactory consensus of opinion could be obtained.

Turning to the second principle it must be pointed out that the whole tenor of immigration is negative, centering around the means of preventing undesirable effects from immigration and it is time for the positive side to be stressed. How shall we prevent undesirable immigration but also how shall we get desirable immigrants who will contribute far more than they receive? It is after all a problem in positive eugenics for there is an excellent analogy between the breeding of a new generation of children and the bringing in of immigrants. Both effect the future character of society and both may be selected to a certain extent. It is true that the achievements of positive eugenics in determining which particular children shall "troop down from Heaven" are rather slight.

It may be easier to encourage a European scientist or artist to come to this country than to persuade an upper-class family to have another child, which may or may not be worth the effort. There is no doubt that many of the German middle-class, so greatly oppressed during the recent troubled times, would have been glad to come had it been possible financially. It may be that a mercantilistic attitude even with respect to superior individuals savors of the nationalism that has cursed the world, but in another sense it is internationalistic in that it opens the road to talent wherever it may be. Bringing representatives who are worthy from one nation to another produces a cross-fertilization of culture and by creating mutual respect makes for international harmony and good will.

Given a method for estimating in exact terms the social desirability of a given individual, what shall be the minimum requirements and how shall they be determined? One criterion is fairly obvious. No person should be admitted who does not measure up to the level of social desirability of the average American citizen, save as it may be necessary to make temporary exception for relatives of those already here. This would mean that every immigrant would be superior to about one half of the present population. Such a minimum would tend to solve the problem of numbers as affecting assimilation and pressure on resources but if necessary a limit might be established allowing the number of immigrants admitted to be only a fixed proportion of the foreign-born here on a given date. The numbers should be kept within the established limit by raising the minimum requirements thus making more rigid the selection. If more come over the wall than we can accommodate then we shall raise the wall in order that those that do come shall be more strong and agile. The tremendous advantage of the selective plan described, aside from opening the road to talent and increasing our national vitality and cultural status, would be the avoidance of national or racial discrimination.

There are several objections that might be urged against a plan for selection in Europe. De Ward²⁴ is inclined to think that examination on foreign soil by officials would violate the sovereign rights of the nation concerned. It is true that if

²⁴ De C. Ward, Robert. "What Next in Immigration Legislation," *Sci. Monthly*, Vol. XV, No. 6, Dec. 1922. P. 568.

the new mercantilism ever came into vogue there would be no great enthusiasm for assisting another nation to draw away the best elements in the population. Still it is conceivable that unofficial examination might be arranged either by steamship companies or by mutual insurance companies. The latter would insure emigrants against financial loss by rejection and would give preliminary examinations in order to prevent loss by rejections on this side. Of course such a plan would only be needed if the obstacles to official selection were insuperable. It remains to be seen how far the foreign governments will coöperate in furnishing data that the prospective immigrant may present to the Consul under the provisions of the present law.

The last two propositions of the list need little elaboration. There seems to be no way of stopping the growing practice of smuggling immigrants save by registration, and, on the other hand,

by registration it would be possible to check up the success with which legally admitted immigrants have been adjusted to their new environment. If a commission of ability could be obtained and entrusted with the duty of enforcing the spirit of a simple law it would probably make for efficiency.

It is Utopian to present an immigration policy in detail for there is little likelihood of change in the near future and if it ultimately comes it will tend to be the resultant of a number of forces growing out of group interests just as the recent legislation was motivated by Ku Klux Klan hatred of the Catholic and the un-American, the general fear of radicalism, fear of economic competition and belief in Nordic superiority. However, it is but natural to indulge in an occasional Messianic hope looking forward to the day when the scientist will come into his own and a revised version of "The New Decalogue of Science," will be taught in the Sunday schools.

GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

"An International Ethic"—what should it be and how can one be created? It must not prove too high for realization, since that would cause a mere extension of hypocrisy. It will never come through the action of nationalist governments, for they would thereby be destroying their own reasons for existence. Yet it will have to be acknowledged by the nations, as nations, in the same sense that private law is acknowledged among most citizens, and it must be something finer than the morality actually obtaining among individuals, which is largely the pursuit of self-interest restrained by fear. Authority, in ethics, comes not from pronouncements in high quarters but from the force of example; let us attempt, therefore, a flank attack through education, science, art, religion, and labor which will in time create a living example of good will and common action throughout the world. Thus L. P. Jacks, persuasively, in *Foreign Affairs* for December.

* * *

The worst feature of our forty-eight marriage and divorce laws is the orgy of false pretenses and misrepresentation they have led to. Eighty per cent of our divorces are uncontested, most of

them rising out of mere disaffection and being secured by collusion or temporary residence in an accommodating state, says Judge Robert Grant, who writes on "Marriage and Divorce" in the January *Yale Review* out of a long practical experience in the courts. He calls attention to the proposed constitutional amendment granting Congress power to make uniform laws on the subject, and the accompanying bill, prepared by the General Federation of Women's Clubs, which places reasonable restrictions about marriage and specifies five major grounds for divorce. Some churches and the champions of state rights have challenged this legislation, but the author holds it is none the less in the true interests of religion and patriotism.

* * *

A gallant attempt to stem the present-day tide of socialization is Hanford Henderson's "Hands Off" in the December *North American Review*. The whole cause of the world's troubles, he says, is the growing tendency to substitute mass action directed from without (which is what "coöperation" really amounts to) for wholesome individual action directed from within. Our way out

is through the rehabilitation of personal effort, the humanistic salvation of the individual soul, and the minimizing of so-called social remedies. An eloquent and thoughtful appeal for a return to an older theory of government in the family, the church, and the state.

* * *

"When Is a Citizen Not a Citizen?" asks Imogen B. Oakley in the January *Atlantic*. Immigrants to our shores from nine countries of Europe can never become real Americans because their native governments refuse to release them from military service or arrest for desertion if they should ever return. Yet sentimentalists, large employers of labor, and politicians have brought about what amounts to enforced naturalization. The famous melting pot is full of insoluble lumps, alien groups which are responsible for such ominous symptoms as the injection of racial propaganda into school texts and the emergence of the Klan. An educational qualification for the franchise, such as New York State has adopted, is the sanest legal remedy.

* * *

An even more stringent view of this problem is taken by Stuart H. Perry in the same issue. "The Unarmed Invasion" of aliens, together with the illicit traffic in liquor and drugs, presents a menace to our American culture and standards of life that will increase as the world's equilibrium becomes more and more unstable through growing population and inadequate food supply. In time we ourselves will reach the point of saturation, but the day of reckoning can be put off by a policy of national conservation—economic, social, and racial—by means of rigorous immigration laws and the complete suppression of all smuggling.

* * *

Last year's immigration law is responsible for three constructive reforms: preventing futile emigration, abolishing the excess quota race on the first of every month, and improving conditions on Ellis Island. But hardships and heartbreaks have not been done away with. The new duplicate consular visa which is required caused, especially at first, a great deal of confusion; non-citizen residents of this country who went abroad

before last July can return only as new immigrants; citizens and residents of foreign birth are baffled in the attempts to unite families and resume their home life; and the smuggling of aliens has become a new form of exploitation. "Larger quotas" may yet become a campaign slogan in this country, thinks Edith Terry Bremer in the leading article of the *Survey* for January 15.

* * *

"Smugness in Civic Teaching" is the bane of that field of work, according to Harold M. Vinacke in the January *Educational Review*. American college students are apathetic regarding public affairs because they are not allowed free play in discussion of fundamental governmental and political issues. Even though the teaching of civics do not go beyond description, it may reveal the vital forces at work, show the human drama behind every social question, and so lead to a real interest in public life, a synthetic view of problems and of organizations through which problems are to be solved, and the development of a habit of intellectual honesty in the student.

* * *

A direct indictment of the public schools as responsible for American government by a minority of voters is contained in "Newspapers, Schoolmasters, and Politics" from the same magazine. The author, Edmund W. Booth, editor of a number of Michigan papers which conducted a vigorous get-out-the-vote campaign last fall, quotes the prize-winning essay he received on the problem. It offered as a practical solution the education of coming citizens in self-government by allowing them actually to practice it in the course of their education. Politics, in its pure sense, is the main obligation of the schools, and the creation of a political temper the most valuable social service they can perform.

* * *

"The Death Penalty" is warmly debated by Thomas Mott Osborne and Robert E. Crowe in the February *Forum*. Mr. Osborne holds that it is morally wrong, brutalizing, unjust, and futile, that it glorifies crime, fails to instil fear in others, and sometimes kills innocent men. Even the worst criminal must be given a chance to redeem

himself in after life. But to Judge Crowe capital punishment is a necessary protection for society. The state may not forgive wrong as the individual does; it must preserve itself at all costs for the good of its members. The certainty of death does put fear into the heart of a criminal, and if the penalty were rigidly enforced we would soon cease to be known as the most lawless of nations.

* * *

The old battle of free will versus determinism is waged with new weapons in these discussions of the responsibility of criminals and the state's attitude toward them. An encounter on "Crime and Punishment" takes place in the *March Century* between Horace J. Bridges and Clarence Darrow, in which the former upholds the ethical

conception of the nature of man against the famous lawyer's well-known mechanistic views. The spirited and closely reasoned argument of Mr. Bridges ranges from rather subtle metaphysics to the moral expediency of capital punishment, maintaining that man can choose his way in life and is to be held accountable for it. Mr. Darrow believes that man is no more than a machine, that environment and heredity are the sole and omnipotent influences in human life, and that only by working through these two factors can we make him a completely social animal. The two reach much the same conclusions as to the need for the bettering of prison conditions; but their premises are a universe apart. Between men whose minds do not meet there can hardly be a profitable debate.

Social Industrial Relationships

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

The Southern Textile Social Service Association comprises in the aggregate a membership or potential membership of some four hundred workers and leaders in the field of southern industrial mill villages. Mr. Heiss explains in the memorandum at the end of this department something of the history and purposes of the Association and shows from a sympathetic understanding something of its ideals and hopes. This group has decided to adventure along with *The JOURNAL of SOCIAL FORCES* for a try-out to see to what extent the two can be mutually serviceable in the promotion of a wholesome study, understanding and work in the development of one of the most important cross-sections of American life. This, together with a clearing committee from several of the southern institutions, planning to work in coöperation with representatives of the American Cotton Manufacturers Association, the Southern Cotton Manufacturers Association, and the North Carolina Association as well, will offer one of the most important opportunities for a really permanent contribution in this field. Miss Herring's discussion in this issue is also timely.

SHARING MANAGEMENT WITH THE WORKERS

MARY VAN KLEECK

IS IT FINANCIALLY safe for a company to permit its wage-earning employees to vote on questions of shop management? Do the workers wish to have this share of responsibility? Lacking technical training and experience in the usual problems of business, has their judgment value to the business manager? If given power to decide policies, will they use it to increase their own wages and to decrease working hours regardless of the financial condition of the business? Will they have consideration for the interests of stockholders?

Considerable light is thrown on these important questions in a series of studies started by the Russell Sage Foundation in 1919, the first of which are now being published. These investigations covered the Partnership Plan of the Dutchess Bleachery at Wappingers Falls, New York, the Industrial Representation Plan of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company in its coal mines and in its steel works, the Works Council of Rock Island Arsenal, which is owned and conducted by the federal government, and the employment policies of William Filene's Sons Company in their Boston store, besides brief surveys

of a dozen other plans in a variety of industries.

This article will deal briefly with the first of these reports to be completed—the Partnership Plan of the Dutchess Bleachery, Inc., at Wappingers Falls, New York, undoubtedly one of America's most significant experiences in wage-earners' participation in management. The full report of the Dutchess Bleachery experiment, now in its sixth year, a volume of 150 pages by Ben M. Selekman of the staff of the Department of Industrial Studies, will be issued shortly by the Russell Sage Foundation.

The significance of this experiment, in so far as industry generally is concerned, lies in the fact that the Partnership Plan was introduced under such unfavorable conditions in the Dutchess Bleachery that its practical success in this plant indicates the possibility of securing equally, if not more, favorable results in almost any industrial property through equally sincere and efficient efforts.

The Dutchess Bleachery is one of the largest mills of this kind in the country, usually employing about 600 workers—450 men and 150 women—including a considerable number of Italians.

The Partnership Plan was adopted in 1918 by new owners of the business. They had bought the plant from the family which had established it nearly 100 years before.

Familiar causes of unrest had existed among the workers—long hours, low wages, and bad living conditions. The workers were restive and suspicious. The firm seemed to them to have no interest in them as human beings. They felt insecure in their employment. A man could be discharged by the foreman without notice, and with no explanation. As the Bleachery is the chief industry in the town, discharge often forced a man to break up his home and to move his family to another community.

When the new owners took over the plant they had no means of knowing the state of mind of the workers. Naturally, they laid plans at once to make the business as profitable as possible. They erected a new mill. They engaged a new executive staff. Arbitrary rules and decisions began to give way to friendliness and consideration. Where suspicion had prevailed before, pleasant personal relationships developed between foremen and workers.

For several years, however, the need for forming more than pleasant personal relationships was not recognized. Back of the discontent of the workers were two large problems which confront industry generally today—insecurity of employment and the lack of any definite plan of representing the point of view of wage-earning employees when wage rates, hours of work, and other conditions in the plant are decided upon. Added to these problems was the dilapidated condition of the company-owned houses, in which most of the workers lived. They had been badly built, and considerations of economy had left them to deteriorate into unsanitary living places. Under these conditions the employees were not happy, nor did they feel any personal interest in the success of the business. Enlarged profits did not have any tangible results in improving their living conditions, decreasing their hours of work, or increasing their wages.

Fortunately, the new owners of the Dutchess Bleachery were men of vision, fitted to understand human needs in the work shop. They also had broad experience in the successful management of industrial enterprises, owning several

other mills. One of the officers of the company had been led to make an analysis of industrial organization because a friend of his had declared that no industry was run on ethical principles. His analysis led to the conclusion, in which other active directors concurred, that industry failed to satisfy the needs of its employees on three counts:

First: The managers of large operations lack personal contacts with their own employees. Without these contacts they are unable to understand the points of view of the wage-earner or to see how disadvantageous conditions affect them.

Second: Industry provides no stimulus to creative work. The worker is limited to one small job and has no information about the industry as a whole, nor can he see his share in it. The prosperity of the business seems to him to be quite independent of his own efficiency.

Third: Not only does the worker fail to see that his small task is important in total production, but he is skeptical as to whether he receives his share of the earnings of the business. He knows that the foreman can tell him tonight that there will be no work for him tomorrow. He does not feel that he has any permanent place in the business. He has no permanent stake in industry, no information about its financial condition, and hence no stimulus to a sense of responsibility.

The Partnership Plan, as gradually evolved in the Dutchess Bleachery, was directed toward remedying these three defects. It aimed to give the workers a voice in the conduct of the business, to give them current information on the success of the business, and to share profits with them, besides providing funds in advance to make payments to both stockholders and wage-earners in periods of industrial depression.

The participation of employees in the conduct of the business is secured through three boards:

(1) The Board of Operatives: It consists entirely of employees, elected by their fellow-workers. It has entire charge of the company houses, deciding upon all requests for repairs and other details connected with their management. Provisions for recreation and for education, not only for employees but for the whole village, are under its supervision. It is also the channel for presenting to the management any grievances of individuals or of groups of workers in the Bleachery.

(2) The Board of Management: This is a joint body composed equally of employees elected by the Board of Operatives, and stockholders chosen by the Board of

Directors. All important questions relating to the conduct of the Bleachery, such as rates of wages and hours of work, are decided by this board.

(3) The Board of Directors, which is elected by the stockholders, consists of representatives of the operatives, the town of Wappingers Falls, and the stockholders. It formulates the financial policies of the company.

To meet the problem of insecurity of employment, sinking funds are set aside to pay part wages when workers are idle because of industrial depression, and also to pay a return on the investment of stockholders. A direct stake in the success of the business is insured through an equal sharing of profits by stockholders and wage-earners. Finally, in accordance with the procedure of a practical business partnership, the books are open to employees and they are kept continually informed concerning the state of the business.

PRINCIPLES OF PARTNERSHIP

At a mass meeting of the employees, the treasurer of the company explained in detail the idea of the Partnership Plan. First he defined the three groups which, in his opinion, make up a company, using the Dutchess Bleachery as an illustration: (1) The manufacturing group, composed of all those who work for the company at Wappingers Falls; (2) the selling and administrative group, composed of all persons working elsewhere for the company, such as salesmen, officers, accountants, and others engaged in clerical and other work; (3) the group which supplies the property and the capital to operate it.

Relationships between these three groups, he said, should be "those of partners." It was necessary at this point to define what partnership meant. Indeed, an explanation of the purpose of the owners was due the workers. For almost a century the practice in this plant, as in many other industries, had been for the workers to go through their daily rounds of so many hours at so much per hour, with no voice in any phase of the business. Now a mass meeting was called to invite these wage-earners to become partners. No strike had occurred. Naturally the workers were both curious and suspicious. They listened eagerly as the new plan was explained to them.

Partnership required first, said the treasurer, a fair share in the responsibility of management for each partner:

In a partnership each partner shares the responsibility of management, by taking charge of that division of the business which he is best qualified to handle. One partner may direct the finances, another the buying, another the selling, another may check the credits for all customers, another the advertising end—each that part of the work for which he has prepared himself or for which he is naturally best fitted. So here at Wappingers Falls your Board of Operatives, representing you and chosen by you, manage the questions of housing, recreation, education, etc., just the matters which they are best qualified to manage.

Partnership requires, in the second place, the treasurer said, that each partner be informed of the earnings and other phases of the business:

Partners are entitled to know the general results of their joint efforts and here, again, your Board of Operatives, as your representatives, will be fully informed of the results of the year's business, receiving the report of the net earnings (prepared by independent auditors) just as does the Board of Directors.

The third essential in a real partnership, he said, is that "partners share in the final net profits of the company after all proper expenses have been paid."

HOW THE PLAN WORKED OUT

Does this sound like too radical a change in the status of wage-earners in business?

As a matter of fact, it has proved to be a sensible and practical plan for dealing with the causes of friction which are familiar to every industrial manager. The new owners, as we have pointed out, had taken over a plant characterized by lack of morale among the employees as a result of previous management, general discontent due to low wages and long hours of work, bad housing conditions, and the absence of recreational facilities in the town.

Discontent due to housing conditions would have become even more serious if the operatives themselves had not been given responsibility for administering housing, thus being assured that their interests were not being neglected. Industrial managers who administer company-owned houses know how readily employees and their families are led to believe that absentee owners are pocketing funds which might otherwise be available for better housing. Through enlisting

the aid of the employes themselves, and giving them a budget to administer, their coöperation was won in a gradual but steady improvement in the property, requiring less outlay of funds and considerably more satisfaction than would otherwise have been possible. Equally important was the fact that the employes' interest in the care of the property was stimulated since the profit sharing scheme, combined with information about the business, made them realize that the money spent on housing came out of profits.

More substantial than the attitude of the employes, however, are the actual results in improving the company-owned workmen's homes through building new foundations, putting on new roofs, installing water and sewer connections, and painting almost all of the buildings, until the village assumed a new aspect. Similarly, it was the Board of Operatives who inaugurated an educational and recreational program growing directly out of the needs of the people in the village. Baseball, basket-ball, tennis, games for children, classes in cooking, stenography, economics, Italian, and English to Italians, were provided for evenings and week-ends.

The Partnership Plan proved to be also a practical business necessity in meeting the problem of low wages. Bleaching is a low wage industry. It is a service industry, carrying on one process in cotton textile-making, and is run on a small margin of profits with keen competition. Without the Partnership Plan, which took the workers into the confidence of the Board of Directors and enabled them to understand the competitive problems of the industry, discontent among the employes would have been fed by suspicion of the policies of absentee stockholders and managers.

Until the standards of the industry can be raised, the Partnership Plan at the Dutchess Bleachery is the essential guaranty to workers that it is not the greed of capital that is keeping their earnings low, but rather that this is a practical problem of the industry to be solved patiently and coöperatively. The low wage scale has demanded, also, the kind of provision for unemployment which the sinking funds connected with the Partnership Plan insure. These funds prevent the distress which would be caused by idle

time when rates of pay are wholly insufficient for savings.

That the employes very quickly realized the financial problems of the Board of Directors was evidenced in their decisions as members of the Board of Managers. They suggested such methods of increasing efficiency as time clocks, foremen's conferences, and mass meetings. Together with representatives of the stockholders they elected the present manager and superintendent of the mill, and the successful conduct of the plant by these men demonstrated the good judgment of the employes, for it was their representatives who actually suggested the new executives. The whole tenor of their participation has been not "How much can we get out of the bleachery for ourselves?" but "What can we do to make this a successful and efficient business enterprise for everyone concerned?"

ATTITUDE TOWARD PRODUCTION REVOLUTIONIZED

It is the testimony of foremen and managers that the Partnership Plan has revolutionized the attitude of the operative toward production. To cut down waste, to make certain that no goods were spoiled in the process of bleaching, to finish the greatest number of yards in a given time, insured an increase in profits and a larger net income to each operative. Here was an incentive, direct and personal, such as only proprietors of a business have heretofore experienced.

The Board of Directors has had a practical demonstration of this new interest in production. During the last period of severe industrial depression, when other bleacheries were often idle, the Dutchess Bleachery earned comparatively high dividends. Operatives point out that what they call the "partnership finish" in the quality of their work is an improvement in the product directly due to the partnership spirit.

The Dutchess Bleachery's experience has revealed the practicability of better coöperation between stockholders, directors, and wage-earners. The stockholders took the initiative in laying the foundation of the plan, in limiting their own profits to a given percentage and dividing the surplus, and in extending more and more power to the workers as their capacity for it was demonstrated step by step. The operatives have shown a growing ability to participate in the manage-

ment of the plant with intelligence and responsibility, and to work out a program for the welfare of the community in which they live.

LESSONS OF THE EXPERIMENT

Several fundamental conclusions emerge from this experience for the enlightenment of other industrial companies who, facing a similar situation, wish to find the way out by granting workers participation and responsibility in management. There are six elements of strength in this plan.

First: It was based on an intelligent study of the way industrial organization and policies actually affect the men and women who work in the shop.

Second: Responsibility for administering the plan was given to an officer in whom the directors had confidence, so that he could be the advocate of the interests of the workers even against initial opposition by executives in immediate charge of factory operations.

Third: This officer had also the confidence of the workers and he increasingly gained it so that he was able to stimulate and develop leadership among them while knowing how to work also with the local managers, superintendents, and foremen.

Fourth: The plan was developed step by step by an experimental method. Instead of announcing a finished scheme of organization to the workers, and then refusing to grant any additional powers, a very simple beginning was made by giving the operatives charge of housing. They had at first only an advisory relation to plant management. Their place on the Board of Managers was given at their request after they had demonstrated what they could do as members of

the Board of Operatives. The fact that the directors were ready to go as far as the development of the plan itself demanded, was an important element in holding the interest of the workers.

Fifth: It was not offered to the workers as a substitute for a trade union. Far from attempting to destroy the effectiveness of the folders' local union, which is part of the United Textile Workers, the officers of the company demonstrated their interest in trade union organization and won the support of trade union members in their employ. If they had not won their support, the confidence of all the operatives in the sincerity of the owners would have been undermined.

Finally, the plan offered substantial gains, such as a share in profits, and funds for unemployment. It gave the workers more than an advisory right to "confer" with managers. Their vote on questions of shop management, including wage rates and hours of work, was decisive. In return, there has been an unfailing response to any reasonable demand made by the management to increase the efficiency of the plant.

The series of studies, of which this was one, was undertaken after interviews with a number of outstanding engineers, social workers, investigators, government officials, employers, and representatives of labor, whose advice had been sought as to how the Foundation could most effectively contribute toward the improvement of human relations in industry. The consensus of opinion seemed to be that there was great need to record the experience of those industries in which definite effort had been made to give wage-earners a voice in matters affecting their employment.

Copies of the full report of this study may be secured from the Russell Sage Foundation, 130 East 22d Street, New York City.

MORITURI TE SALUTAMUS

HARRIET HERRING

IF MY LATIN were not so far behind me, I might try to paraphrase the cry of the Roman gladiators into something meaning "We, about to be submerged, salute you!" Perhaps, alas, it might as well remain "die."

By "we" I mean that increasing number of socially minded men and women who, in some capacity or other, are engaged with the human problems of Southern industry. It may be that one of us is the president of a great group of mills who feels a paternalistic responsibility for "his people," and spends an hour as he can with the questions of the adjustment of a folk to a new kind of life. It may be, instead, a works manager feels the pressure of machines upon men and of production upon both, and is studying personnel problems because he sees it will pay. Or it may be the humble personnel officer, or community worker, or "welfare lady" who senses, and wishes to do a feeble bit about, the matter of social maladjustment of individuals and whole groups to our Southern industrial revolution.

All of "us," then, are actual social workers with jobs presupposing duties and activities and interests along social lines. We have information, or at least opinions, about things the submergers want. Our interest in these sociological phenomena has become our life work, or our hobby, or our avocation, and is therefore a favorite topic. It has made us fascinating to investigate and easy to exploit.

The submergers, bless them, are those multitudes of people who have a cotton mill complex—and who has not, just now? They are usually interesting men and women, always attentive listeners, which adds to their charm, and are rarely more helpless than ourselves in the solution of the cotton mill problems. A lot of them are our own selves visiting about to see what is being done. One "welfare" person I know plans an extensive swing about the circle to all mills with an elaborate list of questions in his head and his pocket—a regular inquisition covering every point of community and industrial interest from little girls' cooking classes to the big boss's ideas on industrial democracy. Seldom indeed does a

week pass in which a progressive mill does not have to detail some one to pilot visitors from other mills or industries about on a perambulating lecture tour.

Another group of investigators are the representatives of various public agencies—state, federal, charitable, associational like the Y's or the manufacturers' groups. Sometimes these come in the form of requests for the most innocent sounding figures which, when laboriously compiled, can be put on an extremely short dotted line. The making and answering of questionnaires is becoming a fine art.

A kind of visitor of whom we have learned to be chary is the free lance investigator. He comes with an idea and goes with the same one—only if you don't watch out he will quote it as yours. It is a perfectly good idea, worth a hundred dollars to some periodical, but worth two hundred if it can be sufficiently tied up to quotations from "practical mill people." I have been expecting a visit from a charming grey-haired woman who has all her life been society editor of a daily paper. When she learned I was connected with the textile industry, she confided that she longed for time to visit some mills and write. "About what," I politely inquired. "Oh," she said, "about the appalling narrowness of cotton mill women's lives."

A new class of visitor is the representative from an educational institution. It is fitting in a society in which an industrial revolution is in process that the teachers and advanced students of economics, business, technical processes, and social problems should observe the transformation taking place before their eyes. It should also be helpful to bring the theory of the problems to bear on the practical solution of them. So far their service to us poor strugglers has been disappointing. They have come with a preconceived theory to prove, as have all the others; they have asked our opinions and noted them as seriously as the others; they have asked to be "taken through the mill" like the others. We have a right to expect something more scientific from these.

What do they all ask? Naturally they ask a lot of things we don't know. We have opinions but few of them have yet been tested by figures, and when occasionally one is we find, as often as not, that our opinion is not justified. But we all love to air our views and so we willingly give them for what they are worth. An average of a lot of opinions that are superficial can only give a superficial conclusion.

They ask some things we may not care to tell. A class in industrial problems of which I was once a member was warned not to ask at the many plants we visited what their labor turnover was—it was as much a *faux pas* as asking a man the value of his family plate or a woman her age. It may be an embarrassing question because we do not keep a record—few Southern mills do. It may be awkward to confess it is so large. Certainly it is disturbing to have a visitor fire this question at us by the time he hangs up his hat. On the other hand, almost every plant that keeps a record will voluntarily directly or indirectly tell you what their turnover rate is after you have shown yourself intelligent on the matter and not too prejudiced!

A lot of visitors ask questions that put us on the defensive. In fact the whole industry has been so bearbaited with certain standard attacks that it is going to take time and careful facts to get the truth. "Do you require so many workers from a four room house? If Johnnie, aged 16, goes to work at the drug store, do you fire the whole family to vacate the house? In case of trouble with a family or a group of families do you just dump them out of the house?" Such questions show an ignorance of law, custom, public opinion and of the fact that many situations dealing with human beings have too many qualifying conditions for a categorical answer. Besides, these questions have been asked so often in a critical spirit that they make us over-anxious to put up a good case for ourselves. The man who gravely informs an inquirer that among a group of some 6,000 employees they have had only two cases of tuberculosis in four or five years is obviously ignorant of the facts and blindly defending his industrial institution from a common attack.

Of course we get a great deal of gratuitous advice. It requires some patience and self-control to continue to describe your inner business affairs to the guest who in the first five minutes of his visit has looked at you reproachfully and said "You really should have a—" Y. M. C. A. or a day nursery, or an employment department, or a swimming pool—whatever his hobby happens to be. Maybe we shouldn't have it at all. Certainly we do not enjoy having people who do not understand our conditions looking at us as if we were a naughty six-year-old or a foolish squirrel in a revolving cage.

Please do not misunderstand me. Most of these people are delightful to have visit you. It adds a bit of spice to have a Lancastershire student of the shop steward movement, a Massachusetts employment manager, a North Carolina mill owner, a child labor amendment propagandist drop in and talk. A visit from Frank Tannenbaum can almost make the wheels stop going round. Even an unexpected descent of the genial but inexorable factory inspector can be a pleasure if you keep things so you have nothing to fear. But they do take such an amazing lot of time. And they do ask so nearly the same questions. Three visitors from the same department of the same institution have recently gone over the same ground with us. They all wanted to help and be helped as do all these many visitors, but to the stationary mill people, the procession looks as though there is a contest on to see which individual can make the most "contacts" and the most requests for coöperation.

People who deal with things, like money exchange or parcel delivery, have discovered that clearing houses are valuable. Could not some sort of clearing house of information and ideas be worked out? Then the investigator could have all the information and we would not be completely snowed under by overlapping calls. Certainly the student could draw more valuable conclusions if he has all the "dope" rather than the little he personally picks up. And such conclusions might be worth something to us. For we need help in these stupendous problems of social, economic, and democratic adjustment. If we cannot get help, we ought in all fairness to be allowed time and peace to work out our own salvation.

THE SOUTHERN TEXTILE SOCIAL SERVICE ASSOCIATION

M. W. HEISS

TO STATE what the Southern Textile Social Service Association is and to enumerate its accomplishments and aims would be a rather arduous task. A true interpretation of its activities and purposes would require the conveyance to the reader of a sympathetic familiarity with the personnel of its members and their various services, and this in turn would necessitate a complete understanding of the Southern textile industry, its villages and inhabitants as they are today and as they were a decade and more ago.

The Association cannot be identified in entirety with other typical social service organizations, for although their ultimate aim is identical, to promote the welfare of humanity, the method of procedure is somewhat different. The usual social service organization recognizes as its strongest point of attack the influencing of legislative bodies and the enactment of laws. The Southern Textile Social Service Association's work is not so conspicuous, for the promotion of its aims is through teaching and gradual development of the people themselves, through general educational practices. With this idea well in mind, the scope and plans of the Association will be more easily understood and better appreciated.

The individuals who entered the service years ago have watched with enthusiasm the transition of hundreds of mill employees from a state of ignorant dependence to the present plane of growing confidence and independence, a result obtained by a gradual development of the individual, the home and the village. The story, if properly written would really read like a romance, so far have the people in the so-called modern mill village come in one generation.

The economic condition of the South before the civil war accounted for the poor whites, often called "poor white trash" from whose ranks mill employees were recruited. Many factors, however, have contributed to their development; the side-tracked inherent ability of the people themselves forming a premise, but a practice now commonly heralded as paternalism has played the stellar rôle in the performance, and it has been through this practice that the members of

the Southern Textile Social Service Association have functioned; not, however, because paternalism offered them an easy method of satisfying their employers, nor because it had a tendency to keep the people satisfied, but because it was recognized as the only direct practical means of accomplishing that which was so visibly needed in order to reach the people and help them develop, for no social scientist, no sociologist nor any other person or group of people offered any other feasible solution to the problem.

The practice of paternalism has been modified continuously as the textile industry has grown and as the people have developed, diminishing in its autocratic aspect and assuming more and more an advisory form.

In the early years of the Southern industry only a few mills were able to employ social workers, and the few workers so employed, not always with special training, with practically no equipment and little encouragement, were thrown on their own resources to perform the miracle. It was truly a pioneer work and only those interested from a humane standpoint withstood the hardships and disappointments accompanying their efforts, since the remuneration for their services certainly was not attractive enough to hold any disinterested people in the work. Due to this fact, all the mill village social service work was patterned after the successful systems of the pioneer workers. At the present time there is hardly a village without social workers, and the similarity of their operations in all villages is very noticeable. Today, the Southern Textile Social Service Association, an association of these workers and others interested, considers as its ultimate object the further standardization of mill village social work; and therein lies a great work, for this standard of service the Association strives for is one based upon unselfish humanitarian motives, and one which does not lose sight of the fundamentals of business and the laws of natural normal development.

Many encouraging steps have been made thus far, but due to the complexity and size of the situation, they have been mostly formative, bringing the Association to the point where it now

should be able to function effectively and concretely; and no doubt with the splendid coöperation assured it by the American Cotton Manufacturers Association and several great educational institutions, it will be able to perform a service of inestimable value to the South.

The Association is fully aware of the growth of the textile industry in the South and realizes that changes and problems are inevitable with the continued influx of New England mills and capital; therefore, they consider it their mission to join in with mill executives and interested organizations and institutions in studying the conditions and in planning a sane solution to problems as they develop.

The South, unlike the other textile centers, entered into cotton manufacturing consciously, the villages were consciously developed, and the industrial relations naturally followed in with this planned program of development, and differs greatly from that drifted into by other sections. The Southern Textile Social Service Association is anxious that the development of the industry and the changes accompanying continue to be controlled by a result of conscious planning rather than unconscious drifting. The chief criticism hurled against the Southern Textile Social Service has been the practice of paternalism. The Association does not intend to defend or refute this practice other than to state that through paternalism their past service has been made possible, and that said service speaks for itself in the development and growth of the people upon whom it has been practiced.

A radical departure from the present form of mill village control and government is undesirable. A continued evolution from the practice of paternalism as it was in its incipiency is desired and encouraged by the Association. Quoting from an editorial appearing in the *Greensboro*

Daily News following a banquet made possible by an officer of this Association, at which banquet manufacturers were host to educators, sociologists and social workers: "You cannot reasonably ask a cotton mill manager to abandon paternalism unless you are prepared to tell him what to substitute for it; but what is social science for if not to devise better methods to replace those which experience has shown to be inefficient. Any science, however, is helpless until it knows exactly what it is up against, and social science is no exception to the rule." The above entirely harmonizes with the views of the Southern Textile Social Service Association; that is to say, the Association through its members realizes that it is more capable of furnishing the "What we are up against" than any other organization or group of people and is eager to assist in preventing our industrial growth from being "fruitful of strife, bitterness and hatred" by coöperating with the "practical men of affairs and the students of social science" in consciously planning the changes and developments and in unitedly combating any attempts toward a radical upset of systems, whether it be by selfish centered organizations or theorists prompted purely by idealistic theoretical socialism.

No law exists, nor has it been proclaimed by any prophets that the South need follow the footsteps of others in their development. The Southern Textile Social Service Association considers other textile industrial relationship systems far from ideal and entirely unsuitable to the Southern situation, provided harmony and progressiveness are to remain and strife and suffering are to be avoided, therefore, the members issue a challenge to the South to coöperate with them in working out the Southern problems by sane sociological reasoning unprejudiced by undermining propaganda or deteriorating idealistic theory.

GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

Neither thief, beggar, nor romantic vagabond, the authentic hobo is the drifting worker who has played an essential part in the industrial pioneering that filled the last half-century of our national life. Often confused with the yeggs and bums who dressed and lived in much the same fashion,

he is in reality the heir of those coarse, profane, and often magnanimous rovers who in every age have done the rough work of civilization at its farthest outposts. James Stevens, most of whose days have been spent among the railroad and logging camps of the Northwest, sets down "The

Hobo's Apology" in the February *Century*, giving a vivid picture of this adventurous and now vanishing life.

* * *

The three historic movements we call Renaissance, Reformation, and Industrial Revolution have determined the culture, religion, and economic life of modern man. Glenn Frank has been preaching through the pages of the same magazine the correction and completion of the first two of these movements in the light of our later knowledge and experience. In this issue he turns his attention to the third, and quoting from Edward A. Filene's recent book "The Way Out," shows "An Industrial Counter-Revolution" in the making. But is Henry Ford or Mahatma Gandhi its prophet? Industry is to be decentralized and humanized, we are agreed, but shall we put factories in every village, with further division of labor and standardization of products, or shall we scrap our machines and return to the old system of handicraft in the self-sufficient home?

* * *

The real solution of the partnership of labor in industry lies in the process of making "Every Worker a Capitalist," according to David F. Houston in the January *World's Work*. It is an almost unobserved growth of the past decade that has shifted power to an astonishing extent by the distribution of the stock of our greatest corporations among thousands of humble citizens. Mr. Houston sees this change as an inevitable movement toward the democratization of industry that is beating "radical" economic theories on their own ground. . . . J. K. Novins gives in the *Independent* for January 24 a number of instances in which "Capitalistic Labor" is, through investment of its savings, securing control of large stock companies.

* * *

Our industrial civilization separates culture from labor, as L. P. Jacks has been brilliantly maintaining in the *Hibbert Journal*. The January number contains his search for "A Philosophy of Labor" that shall again unite them. The contented and discontented classes do not correspond

with the rich and poor, for only those are happy who enjoy the work by which they live. Conditions of labor, in the broadest sense, cannot be improved by any new economic system or by mechanical invention: they depend on the nature of man himself, and in modern times there has arisen a deep-seated antagonism between him and his work. Only by raising the quality of goods and services can he promote both his material well-being and that spiritual satisfaction that will harmonize his entire life.

* * *

The wheat farmers of the Northwest must do three things to be saved: turn to mixed farming, get a genuine vocational education, and cooperate in selling, buying, and borrowing money. Their one-crop fetish is as wasteful and speculative as that of the southern cotton growers; the state colleges are educating their best young men into the cities; carelessness in the use of farm machinery is appalling; and they are going down to defeat as the last individualists in a highly organized society. Hence comes "The Great Farm Rebellion" that Frank Bohn pictures in the February *Forum*. But the old panaceas of political radicalism will not do. The problem is economic, and cooperation, such as the Irish or the Virginia potato farmers have worked out, will be the only lasting remedy.

* * *

A thoughtful British consideration of some of the same "Rural Problems in the United States" is presented by Sir Henry Rew in the *Edinburgh Review* for January. Fears over an approaching scarcity of land are not well founded, he thinks. But the tremendous growth of cities, the racial factor in the South, the post-war slump in prices that still causes so much suffering, the wholesale abandonment of farm lands in the face of increasing population, the expense of bringing cut-over or burnt-over areas to productivity, our fast-dwindling forests, and the need for cooperation in marketing are issues that call for the best efforts of America to solve. Creation of a genuine community spirit is the foundation that must first be laid.

Solutions for most of these problems have been found in certain districts, such as Anaheim and Durham in California, the McRea colonies near Wilmington, North Carolina, and those that the new land-settlement commission of South Carolina is forming. The clearest aim is to make rural life socially attractive and thus reconstitute a stable farm-owning population, declares Elwood Mead in the *New Republic* for February 18. Under the title "Community Farming" he tells what the federal Reclamation Bureau is doing to open semi-arid tracts in the West to the man of limited means through long-time payments, government supervision, and generous loans, thus performing a combined social and industrial service.

* * *

The problem of a just wage that Ellery F. Reed treated in the January *Journal of Social Forces* is considered again by Albion W. Small in the *American Journal of Sociology* for the same month. Profit is not always parasitic; it is a form of payment, justified in the degree in which it is fair compensation for a useful function. Capitalism, however, cannot prevent the "profiteer" from putting too high a value on his own function or counterfeiting it altogether. The obvious and difficult remedy is a counsel of perfection: substitute the service motive for the profit motive and so restrain the excesses of our present economic system. This change can come about only through a laborious process of moral education; and since men in groups are capable of behaving more (though also, of course, less) unselfishly than they are singly intelligent leadership will have a powerful influence. This is Dr. Small's understanding of "The Sociology of Profits."

Ten years ago John D. Rockefeller, Jr., initiated employee representation in the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. Five years later the Dutchess Bleachery began what Mary Van Kleeck, writing in the *Survey Graphic* for February 1, believes to be a still more promising experiment in the partnership of labor with capital. She compares the two plans as to their fundamental purpose, organization, defined responsibilities, changes in the status of the worker, and relation to trade unions. The latter scheme, with its definite grant of powers which have to do only incidentally with adjust-

ment of grievances, she finds has stimulated great interest among the wage-earners and developed a real leadership from below.

* * *

Shop committees serve an indispensable, if restricted, purpose in the industrial life of today. They alone can bring into proper perspective and deal adequately with internal factory problems. When committees in various plants of the same industry combine for common action they will be creating a new and more efficient type of labor union. Yet the older unions which have assumed direction of an entire trade remain equally necessary. Owning different jurisdictions and performing different duties, the two forms of organization are complementary, and must learn to work in harmony to produce sound economic government. Such are the conclusions of Ordway Tead's functional view of "Company Unions and Trade Unions" in the January-February *American Review*.

* * *

How far has the Federal Board for Vocational Education justified its first four years of existence? Reuben D. Cahn of the University of Chicago has made a careful study of "Civilian Vocational Rehabilitation" in the *Journal of Political Economy* for December. He finds that less than 5 per cent of the annual number of handicapped persons have been helped under the act, that the two classes most in need have been excluded from its benefits, and that many of the states have not used or have used extravagantly the money allotted to them, due largely to the failure of the Board to instruct them properly. He hopes to see the scope of the act liberalized, and its administration placed under industrial rather than educational agencies throughout the states.

* * *

In the following article "Some Objections to the Family Wage System" are considered and refuted by Paul H. Douglas of Amherst. During the past six years a scheme for granting to men with dependents allowances in addition to their basic wage has been adopted successfully in continental Europe. Its opponents, on a great variety of grounds, are Mathusians, economic

individualists, employers, and unionists; and the author, taking up in turn thirteen of their strongest arguments, attempts to prove that the advantages of the plan outweigh any supposed objections that can be brought against it. In the February issue he analyses ten practical problems concerning the amount and nature of such allowances which the system in Europe has brought to the front. . . . Family endowment as it would affect population is treated in two thoughtful articles by Eleanor F. Rathbone and Major Leonard Darwin in the January *Eugenics Review*.

* * *

What role should personality play in our daily work? Is it possible to reconstruct routine industry, by giving workers a share in its management, so that it will really interest them, or shall we try to cut down labor to four or five hours a day and keep leisure alone for self-expression? This is a problem of vocational guidance, says Ethel Kawin in "Things Outside Their Work" in the *Survey Graphic* for January 1. She believes, from her own experience and the teachings

of psychology, that the personality cannot safely be divided: if work is not satisfying one's whole life is thrown into confusion, and there must be no conflict between an individual as a wage-earner and as a normal human being. Our guidance of young people must expand to take in their lives as a whole, of which the working self is a part that must harmonize with all other interests.

* * *

But the vocational placement office is neither a fortune teller's booth nor a psychiatric laboratory. It is merely one link in the complete program of guidance. For information it must rely, says Dorothea de Schweinitz in *School and Society* for January 17, on the teacher, the psychologist, and the social worker, thus decreasing the large amount of work it now does on the basis of "hunch." It can be of service not only to individual applicants and employers, but to the school, in suggesting, revising, and emphasizing certain vocational courses, and to the community, in guidance within various industries, job analysis, and attention to problems of apprenticeship.

The JOURNAL of SOCIAL FORCES

Editorial Notes

University Research and Training in Social Science

In previous issues of *The JOURNAL* we have considered various influences which have contributed to present-day situations and problems and to current theories of government, education, religion, industry, and society in general. It has been oft repeated that whereas in other periods intellectual tension has been primarily upon theology, philosophy and the physical sciences, our age is preëminently an age of spiritual and social concern in which, however, the other and older disciplines battle for primacy or for effective consolidation. It has been suggested again and again that while the last half century produced a miracle of material achievement and physical adequacy, the present period ought to be an epoch of social achievement and human adequacy, and that furthermore if social study and human engineering cannot keep pace with physical science and invention social progress will scarcely be possible.

* * *

University and Social Science

We have inquired further as to what may be the part of university effort and of the social sciences in the major tasks of this period and what the method of work will be. What may we expect the spirit of Research, of Science, of University to accomplish? We have referred to Dr. Hall's idea of the universities as the shrine and power house of the research spirit, Karl Pearson's universality of science, Woodrow Wilson's university spirit, intolerant of everything that "seeks to retard the advancement of ideals, the acceptance of truth, the purification of life." But how is the University to take its place in the vanguard of "such times as are forever running

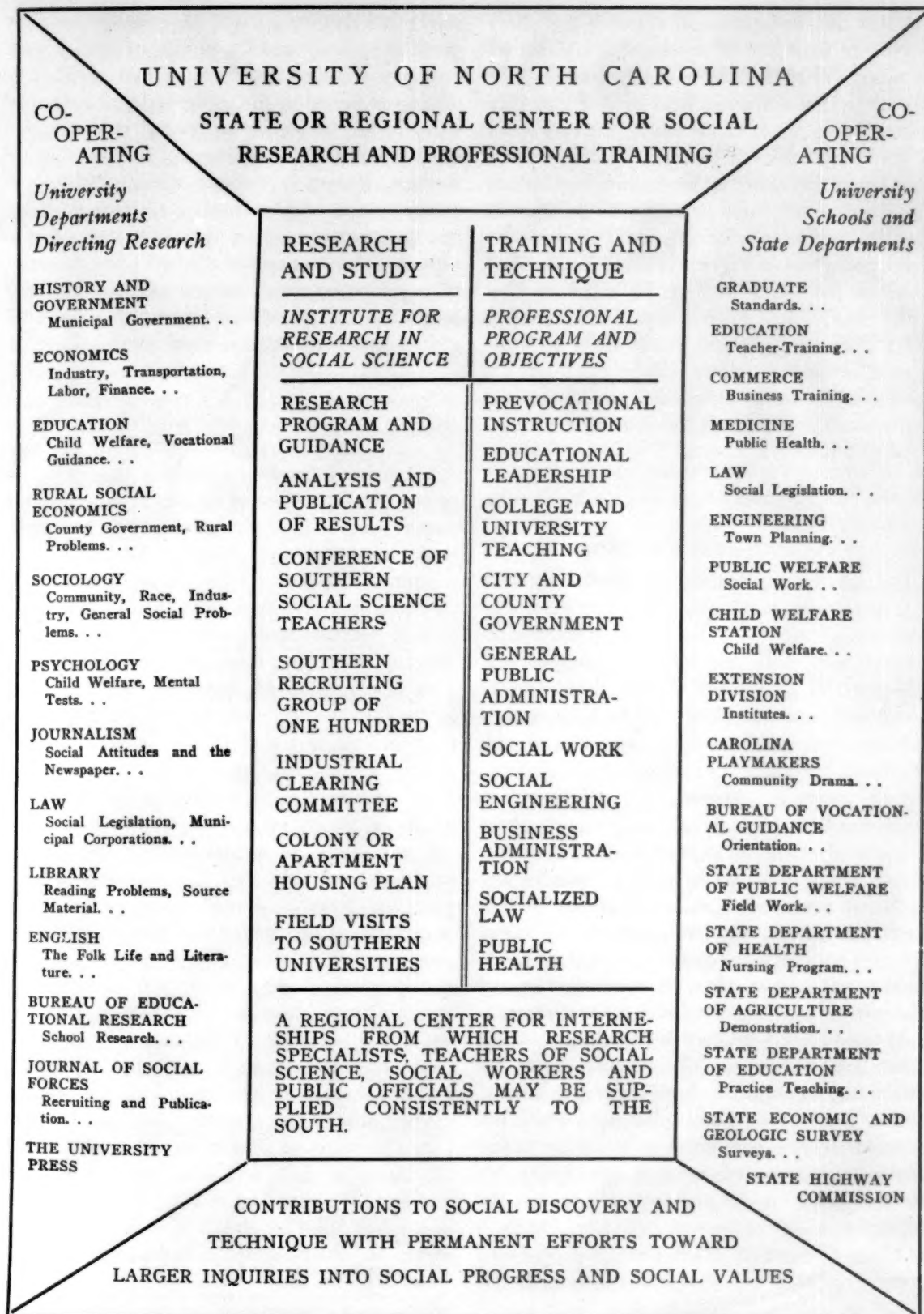
across the loom of human destiny"? There are conflicting currents and forces. There is conflict of ideals, and confusion of ideas. One viewpoint is that the universities are over-professional and therefore but contribute to the already accumulating material development. Another is that the universities are tending to super-intellectualism and are therefore divorced from the great problems of life. One group of critics is excited because the universities, over-zealous for the truth, may play havoc with tradition and social stability. Another group fears that the universities will be but the agencies of reaction and non-progressive forces. There are, of course, the real university attitude and the popular mid-ground viewpoints which hold, with the editors of the new work on "The Outline of Christianity," that anything short of seeking and finding the truth would be a reproach in this era. How shall research and study on the one hand maintain a clear-cut field and method and yet harmonize with technique and training on the other, with its equally distinctive scope and method? For in this two-fold work of the university in the social sciences, in no wise antagonistic but separately inadequate, will be found a mode of progress in the immediate future.

* * *

A State University Plan

It will be the plan of a later discussion to enumerate some of the newer methods and opportunities now afforded in social research and technical training by the increasing number of universities and agencies entering upon new efforts or enlarging plans already begun. It is the purpose of this discussion simply to illustrate one type of combined programs such as may be practical in state universities where the search after truth for its own sake may be supplemented by many inductive local studies having practical application in social direction and endeavor, and utilizing research in promoting professional training and technical instruction. It will readily be seen that the outline here presented is a tentative one suggestive of what is being done, what may be done, or of limitations and needs. It is evi-

¹ It will be seen that the plan suggested here, partly in effect and partly being planned at the University of North Carolina, is presented simply because of its concreteness and actual beginnings.



dent that the combination of research and study on the one hand and of professional training on the other will have to be interpreted to the constituency of the university in order that they may become in the minds of the people the very spirit of university work, as well as a challenge for a more liberal and better undergraduate curriculum. The question may also be raised as to whether there will not be substantial gains if graduate research and graduate degrees in social science shall center in the whole field of the social sciences rather than around limited departmental majors and minors. In this and in the effort to make more effective the doctoral dissertations and the publication of results of research our universities and research agencies will find some new features worthy of their best efforts.

* * *

A Two-Fold Emphasis

The tentative organization chart on the opposite page shows two distinctively different classifications and objectives. The left half emphasizes research and study, together with analysis and publication of results and the recruiting of personnel and resources. The right half emphasizes technique and training in the general and specific fields of social endeavor. Each of these and the needs and opportunities of the region which the university serves. While each phase is essentially different in method, scope and objective, and must have its special resources and personnel, nevertheless in any larger social program the two are well correlated and are essential for the promotion, on the one hand, of social science, and on the other, of public service and leadership. The organization for social research and study centers around the Institute for Research in Social Science with its contributing departments and members of the University faculty. Professional training and education, while not centered in any one organization, nevertheless present a scarcely less unusual opportunity for the correlation of the different schools and the utilization of all university resources. In both of these divisions of effort there will be found a very concrete and practical situation, if re-

search and training are well done through an adequate supply of mature people of ability and training. In their combination and correlation the region served by the university may look consistently for its supply of trained research specialists, college and university teachers, social workers, leaders in business administration and public service. And through it all there ought to run the constant purpose of making some permanent contribution to social discovery and the technique of professional training as well as to the larger body of knowledge relating to social progress, social potential, and social value.

* * *

Simple Organization

The plan of the sort of institute suggested is a simple one, organized to utilize the available resources and trained personnel of the university to the best advantage. There will be, of course, a central office with a secretary and such clerical assistants and office equipment as will promote the specific research under way and coördinate all efforts. There are, then, the research assistants who are directed by members of the faculty whose interests, training, and work enable them to contribute to and direct the very definite research projects ranging in time for completion from six months to several years. Research assistants qualify on a three-fold basis of training and ability, of special aptitude and interest in the desired field, and of availability for the particular research already under way or to be undertaken in harmony with the larger university program as it unfolds. For the general planning and direction of the institute and the whole research program there is a board of governors of which the president of the university is chairman, and for its consistent guidance and administration there is a secretary to keep the program moving, unified and creative. This plan of work puts a premium on close coöperation with the departments, schools, and professors of the university, at the same time that it provides resources and organization for adding to their own achievements and maintaining an institute program as well.

Utilizing University Resources

The general method of procedure will be found in the plan whereby assistants are directed by specialists interested in and competent to insure good results. Following the chart, which merely suggests scope and type, there may be added here only a few of the typical tasks for special direction. As an actual fact in the program being undertaken each department and school has charted out its full page of projects and technique in much the same way as the composite chart of the whole university.² It is only necessary here to illustrate the method. *History and government*: Special problems of municipal government, state government and its development in each southern state, free labor in the old South, political philosophy of the slave holders, exodus from South to West, exodus from South to lower South, sectionalism in the states of the South, social-economic influences reflected in literature, study of intellectual life of the old South, Anglo-French rivalry in southern colonies, educational philosophy in the slave-holding states, religious influences on social and political development in the Carolinas and Georgia, economic and social history of the Carolinas and Georgia, Southern Appalachian development, influence of frontier civilization in the South. *Rural Social Economics*: Special problems of country life, studies of county government and county affairs, county surveys, farmers' standards of living, how tenants live, the village and rural community, North Carolina Club studies, together with statistical studies presented in *The News Letter* fifty-two times a year to twenty thousand readers. *Sociology and Public Welfare*: Rural adaptation of industrial mill villages, the mill village as a type of community evolution, the social studies in the mill village school, the religious factor in the mill village community, southern leadership, community disorganization, rural leadership, race progress in the South, the negro and his songs,

² The number of topics already listed as needed for future study exceeds two hundred. In *Law*, for instance, Dean Ferson has listed some thirty correlated subjects, including such as child labor act, desertion and non-support act, extradition of persons of unsound mind, illegitimacy act, marriage and marriage license act, occupational disease act, vital statistics, workman's compensation, and others. In the same way on the technical side of law training, discussed later in this editorial, the Law School would provide training, in addition to general law practice, for judges, solicitors, law teachers, teachers of government, juvenile court work, clerks of the court, income tax lawyers, legal authors, legislators, and a half dozen others. Similar lists are on record for other departments and other schools.

seventeen decades of social attitude in North Carolina newspapers, state-wide programs of recreation, the use of leisure time in North Carolina, vocational guidance in the rural South, institutional care of delinquent children, and many others. *Education*: A study of the problem of physical fatigue in relation to mental effort in mill and farm children, the growth of children, school problems in relation to home; and so for other departments such as the clinical study of child welfare, mental tests, the study of abnormal families and many others in *Psychology*; the study of social attitudes as expressed in newspapers, social currents and the like in *Journalism*; the study of social legislation, municipal corporations, sales contracts and many others in *Law*; the study of reading problems of rural folk, reading habits in the South, the collection of source material and others in the *Library*; the study of folk life and literature, of the influence of superstitions and sayings upon the life of the people of the Pied-month South and others in *English*.

* * *

Publication of Results

It is expected that the results of research conducted under such a plan will result in material worthy of publication and estimated to be of permanent value. Alongside, therefore, the organization and direction of the research assistants provision for the publication of results will constitute a task second only in importance to the first. Such publication may be done in several forms. The learned journals in the several fields are open for special data of value. In this particular instance *The JOURNAL of SOCIAL FORCES* is available whenever material from the Institute is as good or better than that submitted from other sources. *The University of North Carolina Press* has provision for publishing a limited number of monographs and volumes and should increase its revolving fund for publication of manuscripts too expensive and too plainly scientific for the general publisher. Alongside the task of publishing results the Press and Library working together will be enabled to find valuable source material and to provide working abstracts of literature for the student at work. Typical of

the volumes now being published are "The Negro and His Songs," "Southern Pioneers in Social Interpretation," "The Rural Community," "State Systems of Public Welfare."

* * *

Social Science Teachers

Ultimately much of the effectiveness of such an institute will be measured by cumulative results and stimulation of research not only within its immediate field but throughout the larger region which it serves. The Institute must also learn much from other institutions and from members of the faculties and social agencies interested in study and research throughout the South. In order that these things may come about and that there may be better correlation and more momentum, it is important that there be held each year an informal conference of teachers of social science in the South. Such a meeting should result in definite long-time programs of research and study, in the pooling of efforts, in the coördinating of results and in the prevention of duplication, as well as the very definite stimulation of research in each of the several institutions. The meeting this year will be held at the Carolina Inn at the University of North Carolina and, in addition to representatives from all of the state universities in the south-eastern states, will have many representatives from other institutions that are interested particularly in the social sciences.

* * *

Recruiting Groups

There are, moreover, in addition to teachers of social science in the colleges and universities, a large number of socially-minded individuals and students of social problems living in the several states and working toward the same general end as college and university leaders. They are newspaper editors, directors of social agencies, men in public office, ministers, school officials in the larger systems, librarians, members of research committees, writers. Much material to be gathered from local areas can be best had by them. Its presentation to the public will be more valuable if organized and written by local people.

Local areas themselves will reap more in benefit and in interest if wherever possible study and research is initiated and carried on through local agencies. One of the most important opportunities, therefore, which awaits the Institute is some such plan as would stimulate the continuous gathering of material in the institute and in the region which it serves and the stimulation of special study by a recruiting group. If, for instance, a "baker's dozen" in each state should set themselves to the task of finding material and publishing results, of outlining the needs of local study, the cumulative effect would be very great. As other institutes are set up then, these local resources would be turned into the nearest center. The Institute therefore should see to it that not only such groups are integrated but that provisions are made for bearing preliminary expenses of study and for paying nominal amounts for the publication of first-class material.

* * *

A Clearing Committee

A specific example of the need for correlation of effort and preventing duplication is that of the study of industrial problems in the mill villages. So important is this study of social-industrial relationships in the Piedmont section of the South and so numerous are the studies being attempted that it is becoming absolutely necessary to form some clearing committee to avoid duplication and coördinate the work more effectively. The manufacturers are called upon for information by college students, college professors, individuals outside of the South, inside of the South, representatives of periodicals, representatives of social agencies, philanthropists, and many others. They are, therefore, certainly justified in wondering where the whole matter will stop and in welcoming some coöperating agency whose research methods they are willing to trust. So many duplications of theses and topics in southern colleges are being made that soon studies of mill villages will become commonplace. A clearing committee, therefore, has been formed with representatives of several institutions in North Carolina and as needed from other institutions in the South, to which will be invited the secretary of the American Cotton Manufacturers Association, the sec-

retary of the Southern Textile Social Service Association, and others. The plan, of course, would provide that a long-term program of research on a coöperative basis be worked out such as would result in the most comprehensive study of its kind that has yet been made.

* * *

Learning From Other Institutions

In addition to the gathering of teachers of social science, now at one institution and now at another; in addition to the clearing committee on industrial-social relationships; and in addition to the recruiting group of one hundred, such an institute may learn much and contribute something additional if each year its representatives may visit the educational institutions and research agencies within the region of its service. Such a plan will not only enable the representatives to learn from other institutions, to seek out important problems and resources, but will enable them to come in contact with varied personnel and to inquire into ways and means of promoting the larger program of study and research. During this year the visit will be limited to the State Universities of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, and the visit will be made by four representatives, by automobile. The itinerary may provide that the representatives stop over at two or three state normal schools as they pass through. Other years a different set of institutions may be visited; while again institutions other than primarily education may be visited.

* * *

Residence and Research

In any such program of study and research, in addition to the effective organization as suggested, there are several essentials. Some of these as embodied in the recruiting of research assistants of the first order, the effective direction, correlation and publication of results have been mentioned. Closely related of these is another essential to be found in adequate provision for satisfactory housing of those who are to undertake the work. If the University and the Institute are to attract the ablest individuals it must pro-

vide situations in which students and professors may work under the best conditions with a view to continuous service with minimum handicaps and hardships. If the stipend for the assistantships is not to be large then provisions for living should be satisfactory and economical, the whole accommodation being conducive to fine fellowship and intellectual incenive. For the usual situation, therefore, it is important that special plans be made for a sort of intellectual colony housing plan on simple but attractive plans. In general there would be a colony of small houses with all modern conveniences for a very reasonable rental and a similar plan of semi-apartment homes for those who are not married. Such a plan ought to be worked out so as to be consistent with business principles and applicable to other college communities which might wish to study or model after it.

* * *

Training and Technique

Enough has been said to indicate the general plan of a state or regional institute for research in social science, as the form through which the research interest of the university might express itself. The program of professional training and technique in the university may be illustrated with almost as much simplicity and unity. While each professional school, organized with its own board of administration and with its own specialized curriculum and faculty, provides professional training for its students, there is nevertheless much coöperation and coördination possible in the newer tendency towards professional training in the social subjects. There are pre-vocational courses in the undergraduate schools. In the training of teachers there are the combined forces of the Schools of Education, the School of Public Welfare, the Departments of Government, Engineering, Psychology, Sociology. In the training of college and university teachers all departments of social sciences alike contribute. In the training of city managers or county officials there are the combined efforts of the School of Commerce, of Engineering, of Law, of Public Welfare. The same is true of general public administration and of the training of social workers who would draw heavily upon Law, Medicine, Education, Psychology, Economics, while

business administration itself has required courses in Engineering, Business Law, Community Organization and the like. In each of these general fields of professional and technical training the state departments of public service are important factors in contributing technical advice, field work, practice, at the same time that they may receive expert suggestions, assistance in service and other coöperation from the university schools. Just as each of the departments was shown to contribute specifically in the direction of concrete research projects of many kinds, so each professional school will train its quota of different types of workers. *The Graduate School*, contributing its higher standards, closely correlated with the several university departments and schools, will provide professional men and women in many fields. *The School of Education* lists a half dozen or more different types of teachers and school officials. *The School of Public Welfare*, *The School of Commerce*, *The School of Law*, *The School of Engineering*, in much the same way provide training for several types of "technician," while the *Extension Division*, the *Carolina Playmakers*, the *Child Welfare Division*, the *Bureau of Vocational Guidance* and others contribute their parts to the several groups. The details of these are, of course, commonplace facts. In addition to the state-supported educational institutions and the state departments of public service, other coöperating groups would include the whole number of private and denominational educational institutions and private and denomi-

national social agencies. It ought to be equally clear that the professional training, together with the results of research, will make contribution to social discovery and technique with permanent efforts towards important inquiries into social progress and social values.

* * *

Next Steps

To what extent will such a plan for research and study alongside training and technique in a university field of social science fit in with other university plans, with national research agencies and with the best of present-day tendencies? To what extent will it serve the state? To what extent would such a plan be defective? To what extent would it be applicable to other states and other regions? What additional factors should be added, which ones subtracted and which ones rearranged? How present these important university elements to the people supporting the universities and create both confidence and enthusiasm in the university's enlarging program? To what extent can the results of such a program, in the giving of graduate degrees, in the discovery of new needs and sources and in the publication of results, be made more dynamic as well as scientific? The answer to these and many other similar questions await further study, experience, and publication, as well as the friendly interest of a university administration already devoting maximum energies to the promotion of a university serving well its state and domain.

Library and Work Shop

Book Reviews directed by HARRY
ELMER BARNES AND FRANK H.
HANKINS.

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THE MOST RECENT GRIST ON CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

HARRY ELMER BARNES

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| CRIMINOLOGY. By E. H. Sutherland. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1924, 643 pp. \$3.00. | IN PRISON. By Kate Richards O'Hare. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1924, 211 pp. \$2.00. |
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| IN THE CLUTCH OF CIRCUMSTANCE. By the Mark Twain Burglar. New York: D. Appleton Company, 1922, 272 pp. \$2.00. | MAN'S JUDGMENT OF DEATH. By Lewis E. Lawes. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1924, vi, 146 pp. \$2.00. |
| REFORMATORY REFORM. By Isaac G. Briggs. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1924, xvi, 227 pp. \$2.50. | MURDER AND ITS MOTIVES. By F. Tennyson Jesse. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Company, 1924, vii, 258 pp. \$2.75. |

THE POLICE WOMAN: HER SERVICE AND IDEALS. By Mary E. Hamilton. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1924, xiii, 200 pp. \$1.50.

GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY: REMINISCENCES OF THIRTY YEARS AT THE BAR. By Francis L. Wellman. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924, xv, 298 pp. \$4.00.

OF the group of books here under review by far the most important is that by Professor Sutherland. It is by all odds the best one volume manual which has yet been prepared on the joint and related subjects of criminology and penology. It is more comprehensive than any other work of its kind, and contains more factual information than any other single volume on the subject, excepting only Parmelee's *Criminology*. It has the advantage over the latter of being much more readable, and more up-to-date in point of view and information. The arrangement is admirable with respect to both logic and sequence. The general range of subjects and topics covered is the following: an introduction to the modern conceptions of crime and correction; the facts in the crime situation as revealed by criminal statistics; the real nature of the actual criminal population, in so far as it has been apprehended and isolated; the biological, psychological, social and economic causes of crime; the methods and machinery for the apprehension and conviction of the accused, including police methods, jails and detention institutions, and court procedure; the contrast between the anachronisms and savagery of the criminal court and the dawn of science and common sense in the juvenile court procedure; the theory, origins, evolution, ethics, economics and general wrong-headedness and futility of punishment; the evolution of the prison system; prison industry and education; methods of release, probation and parole; and general observations on the primary significance and potency of prevention and reformation in correctional theories, policies and methods.

The book is thoroughly modern with respect to both factual content and orientation towards the crime problem. The author's bibliographic mastery is remarkable. The reviewer does not recall having read another book by a sociologist on any phase of contemporary social problems which exhibited a superior acquaintance with the relevant literature on the subject. The ample footnotes

are supplemented by an extensive and discriminating list of suggested readings following each chapter or section of the book. Professor Sutherland is candid and courageous in criticizing the anachronisms and abuses of our modern criminal procedure and prison administration without lapsing into cynicism or being disheartened. He clearly indicates that the clue to the crime problem and its solution is a careful study of the causes of crime and the methods of their elimination. Prevention and reformation are the only positive fields of action which can enlist the interest or secure the respect of the enlightened student of criminology. His critical comparisons of the American police systems, courts and court procedure with similar institutions and methods abroad should constitute doubly pertinent and salutary reading for our Hundred Percenters. Particularly satisfactory and convincing is his contention that the older views of personal responsibility for criminal action, with the resulting desirability of punishment, can in no way whatever be harmonized or combined with the modern viewpoint of determinism and treatment. "It is necessary either to keep the punishment attitude and abandon the effort to understand the situation, or else abandon the punishment attitude and continue the effort to understand the situation. The two attitudes are not in harmony and cannot be combined."

It is probable that ultimately distinct works on criminology and penology will be abandoned, and the subject will become a subdivision of psychiatry, mental hygiene and social work—a development of which the recent work by Hoag and Williams was a harbinger. Until that time comes, it is difficult to see how we can well expect a more adequate and satisfactory treatment in any manual than that executed by Professor Sutherland. It may, however, be possible to produce a somewhat clearer and more vitally interesting survey, and the promised revision of P. A. Parsons' *Responsibility for Crime* may possibly constitute this very achievement.

The work by Mr. Dougherty is a book of a distinctly different sort from the systematic manual of Professor Sutherland. It is the highly interesting and illuminating, if rather miscellaneous, collection of the observations and reminiscences of the former deputy police commissioner and

chief of detectives of the New York Police Department. Mr. Dougherty is an interesting "border-line case." He has passed his life in the police and detective service, which, particularly in the United States, is peculiarly destructive of a scientific interest in the real nature of crime and the criminal, though, as Chief Vollmer has so clearly proved, it may well serve as the vantage point for the acquisition of a unique body of reliable information on these very subjects. But he is apparently a humane person of much poise and good sense, and he seems to have been touched in one manner or another by the concepts of modern criminology. Hence his book constitutes a curious mixture of modern insight into the nature of crime and the criminal with the orientation and jargon of the police detective. The best chapter is the first where Mr. Dougherty actually views the criminal as a "human being" in such passages as the following:

With all his shortcomings, the criminal may be more human than the law-abiding citizen sunk in his rut of respectability—more human in his emotions, his resourcefulness, his sympathies.

It is through understanding of his humanness that he is most often inspired to effect a genuine reform, either by his own initiative or the help of others.

And I have always felt that, taking into account the many obstacles to be overcome, within himself as well as outside, the wrongdoer who has succeeded in gaining a place for himself among honest men is perhaps just a little more human than most of the rest of us. . . .

The effort a criminal will make to go straight himself is much greater than reformers suppose, and if they left off cuddling and sentimentalizing over him, and simply found him the right kind of a chance, there would be many more lasting reforms.

The remainder of the book is of little value as a contribution to the technical psychiatric analysis of the criminal, but it does contain a large amount of cogent and interesting descriptive material relative to the various types of criminals, their characteristics and methods, and the procedure of the police and detectives in apprehending them and securing their conviction. The methods of criminals are presented through a description of the stage management of spectacular crimes, blackmailers, the dinner thief and the pickpocket, and the "stick-up" and the house-prowler. The procedure of detectives is described through an account of the art of "shadowing and roping," a description of the more modern and humane ad-

ministration of the "third degree," and an analysis of the methods of the city detective. One gains from reading the book a respect for the uncanny powers of the trained and competent detective. It is not necessary to assume special egotism or prevarication as the basis of such passages as: "I have examined many prisoners charged with all kinds of murder, and could satisfy myself where there was no direct evidence as to the innocence or guilt of the suspect by a careful study of the eye. . . . Take six honest persons, six dishonest persons who have never been convicted of crime, and six criminals who have served prison terms. Let them all be of the same general build and type. Without experience, few people could distinguish the three different groups, but the detective frequently sorts them, and as correctly as a mailhandler slipping so many letters into the right boxes. . . . While in the police department in New York City as Deputy Commissioner and Chief of Detectives, I could, when a prisoner was arraigned before me, without any previous information on the subject, tell for what crime he was arrested." Mr. Dougherty includes an interesting chapter proving how the savagery of the conventional "third degree," is actually much less effective than the adroit and subtle methods now used by the best police detectives. He contends that "the cruel third degree is a thing of yesterday," but this is literally true only in the better types of police departments in a few leading American cities.

Important and informing as is Mr. Dougherty's work with respect to the concrete facts of criminal methods, Mr. Henderson's contains much more specific information and deals with a wider variety of criminals. His preface indicates that he also knows whereof he speaks, as he has studied the criminal at first hand under the most diverse conditions, in prison and out, and was aided by Police Chief August Vollmer in the critical editing of his book. He has separate chapters on thieves, pickpockets, burglars, safe-crackers, robbers, bandits, swindlers, forgers, counterfeiters, criminal promoters, mail-order crooks, the "con" man, fraudulent mediums and criminal spiritualism, bunko artists, gamblers, bucket shop operators and bookmakers, arsonists, bootleggers, drug venders, grafters and murderers. There are

three concluding chapters on modern police technology, prisons, and methods of eliminating crime.

The book is not only of high value for criminologists in search of descriptive and illustrative material, but also to the general reader who will here acquire much astonishing and protective information. After his elaborate study of the criminal types he comes essentially to the view of Bernard Shaw, as expressed in the latter's introduction to the Webbs' *History of English Prisons Under Local Government*, namely, that the gentleman is more of a menace to society than the criminal, because of the fact that his depredations are much more extensive and far-reaching. "I soon became convinced that the biggest scoundrels were outside the (prison) walls, and I began an investigation of profiteers, swindlers, criminal promoters, bucket shop operators and mail order crooks." The only serious departure of the author from science and sense is in chapter xxvii, where he attempts to scare prospective criminals out of such a career by painting the generally unsatisfactory nature of the criminal's life. While this might be effective in a few cases, it is, broadly speaking, as absurd as to believe that the general perusal of medical works by the citizenry would eliminate most physical diseases. It is interesting to note that Mr. Henderson, in contrast to Mr. Dougherty, not only admits the existence of the brutal methods of the police in the third degree and elsewhere but defends such procedure. One of the best things about this useful work is the introduction by Chief Vollmer, who thus indicates his thorough grasp upon the essentials of the civilized attitude towards crime and criminals:

The offender today is coming in for more genuine attention and scientific study than ever before in the annals of the world.

The time has passed when law violators were thrown into dungeons like beasts to rot there until the pleasure of some official secured their release. The time is coming when every criminal case will be handled with the same individuality that a good physician shows in caring for a patient, because after all the outlaw is a sick man, morally sick, perhaps mentally and physically ill.

The psychology, pathology, anthropology, physiology, sociology and other sciences that have been brought to bear upon criminal matters have convinced the thinker of one thing—there is no single cause for crime.

Crime is a social disease and it is produced by an accumulation of inequalities. Inequality in wealth, in

physical vigor, in mentality and in environmental opportunity plays a tremendous part in the fertilizing of the ova of social degeneracy—crime. . . .

It is especially desirable that the student in criminology and the voter who runs the government should understand crime causes. Mental abnormalities, vicious environment, the wicked home, poverty, sinister heredity, physical defects, alcoholism, drug addiction, child labor, profiteering, the unequal distribution of wealth and lack of character training are decidedly causative agents. In considering causation the only factor in this connection of any importance is the antidote, the remedy. Little good can result from enumerating the reasons for criminality unless it is with the idea of eliminating them.

Punitory and penal institutions in the United States have been undergoing some drastic changes in the last few years. The theory that a criminal must be punished is giving way to the definite idea that he must be trained and reformed so that he may become an asset rather than a liability to the community.

In the Clutch of Circumstance is the autobiography of the famous "Mark Twain Burglar" who robbed Mark Twain's Connecticut home at Stormfield on September 17, 1908. It is a human document which makes a far more serious case against society and American "justice" than against the culprit whose life story is contained herein. While one could scarcely be dogmatic in the situation without having available the IQ and the report of a psychiatric investigation of the personality of the author, the present case would seem to be notably one in which adverse circumstances, including our gross perversion of elementary justice in this country, were fundamentally responsible for a criminal career. It is also an excellent illustration of how decent human contacts and an opportunity will operate to induce reformation. It is another admirable book to recommend to Hundred Percenters and "right thinking" people. It should serve equally well as a first book designed to arouse an intelligent and reflective interest in the problems of crime. Incidentally, it adds to our already disheartening collection of concrete information regarding the brutality and corruption in our jail and prison systems. The case against the Wethersfield Prison in Connecticut is particularly damaging. The reviewer does not remember having read another book which brings out more clearly the practical helplessness of a friendless and uninformed person before the law in the United States, even when guiltless; in contrast with the

practical helplessness of the law against wealthy and powerful offenders able to secure clever and competent counsel.

Mr. Briggs' book is somewhat similar in scope and nature to that of the "Mark Twain Burglar." It is the account of an Englishman who was thrown into a House of Correction when a child for a petty offense, but who was able to make good when released in spite of his "Reformatory" sentence and service. The author is, however, a better educated person than the "Mark Twain Burglar" and has more technical acquaintance with the newer penal methods. The closest American analogue to his work is that by Frank Tannenbaum. In addition to an enlightening account of the conventional and usual brutalities and stupidities of reformatory administration, there is included a sensible discussion of preventive and reformatory measures, such as the children's court, better educational and administrative machinery and attitudes in reformatories, probation, the individualization of treatment, and a program of prevention based upon an adequate system of education. He comes to the sane conclusion of every competent student that the only constructive approach to the problem of crime is an analysis of causes, with the aim in mind of eliminating them. The book may be recommended to American readers as an example of the confirmation of the penal reformer's position on the basis of English data, and as an excellent concrete description of administrative methods in English institutions. English criminal justice is far more rapid, efficient and economical in its operation than American, but, as the Hobhouse and Brockway Report and the present work indicate, the administrative systems in the penal and reformatory institutions are by no means as much more advanced than our own.

Of all the books written in this country in the last ten years revealing the actual operation of the paleolithic system of savagery, ignorance and vice which we dignify by the term "our prison system" it is probable that Mrs. O'Hare's account of her experiences in the Missouri State Penitentiary at Jefferson City is the most striking and convincing indictment of one of our chief contemporary disgraces. Nothing except Fishman's *Crucibles of Crime* and the chapters of Tannenbaum's *Darker Phases of the South* dealing with

southern prisons can compare with it in the revelation of hideous and gruesome details. This is not because the Missouri Penitentiary is worse than most other American prisons, but because Mrs. O'Hare is an unusually intelligent woman who consciously utilized her prison experience for the purpose of gathering information concerning modern prison methods with the aim of influencing public opinion against its more flagrant abuses. Mrs. O'Hare's whole prison experience, as well as many of her prison cases, admirably illustrates once more Bernard Shaw's thesis of the gentleman versus the criminal. She was sacrificed to the profiteers during the late World War in that campaign against free speech and common decency, which, be it said to their lasting and eternal disgrace, was so ably aided and abetted by many prominent American sociologists. Yet few, if any, profiteers ever got behind prison bars, and the feeble effort to secure restitution from them was quickly squelched by now Vice-President Dawes. This Shavian observation is further exemplified in many cases cited by Mrs. O'Hare, of which that of Marie Montemann is representative. She was serving a sentence as a prostitute, a career into which she had been forced because both arms had been amputated at the shoulders by illegal machinery used in the shops of the Fulton Bag Company, against whom no conviction had ever been achieved or seriously attempted.

It would be futile to dwell at length upon the details of the filth, degradation and cruelties of prison life revealed by Mrs. O'Hare, for they are distressingly familiar to every student of the subject, but we may profitably mention some points which she emphasizes more fully than most other writers. She recognizes and resolutely calls attention to the importance of the sex problem in prison. "Prison life by denying the normal expression of sex, breeds and fosters sex perversions and all the degenerating vices that these perversions include." After dealing with the subject in general, she calls attention to the almost unbelievable situation in the women's ward in the Missouri Penitentiary. Here the ward was from six in the evening to six in the morning in charge of a vicious convicted negro murderess who actively forwarded homosexual practices. Perverts plied their trade for fifty cents per visit and the negress received one dollar for leaving

the cell door open so that such practices could go on. In order to increase her "rake off" she not only permitted but forced, when it was necessary, indulgence in such perversions. "Because this stool pigeon had sole charge of the cell house and of the lives of the women at night; because her word was always and unquestionably accepted without investigation by the matrons; because she, in fact, held the power of life and death over us, by being able to secure endless punishments in the blind cell, she could and did compel indulgence in this vice in order that its profits might be secured."

Even more repulsive was the condition with respect to the prevalence and non-treatment of venereal disease. Mrs. O'Hare thus describes the condition of the syphilitic Indian woman whom she was compelled to follow into an undisinfected bath-tub under threats of the dungeon and beating. "As Alice stepped out of the bathroom she was one of the most terrible creatures I have ever seen. From her throat to her feet she was one mass of open sores dripping pus. I have seen her with her clothes so stiff with dried pus that they rattled when she walked, and I have seen live maggots working out of the filthy bandages about her neck." She had been in prison for eleven years and had never received any treatment whatever for her disease until Emma Goldman, while a prisoner at Jefferson City, risked her life to arouse sufficient disturbance about the case to secure treatment long after it was too late. When Mrs. O'Hare remonstrated that to follow Alice without disinfecting the bathtub would mean probable infection with a possibly fatal disease the matron responded: "I don't know a thing about that, and care a damn sight less. You are a convict; this is what there is here for you to use. Now get ter hell outa here and take your bath." These abuses were not only in evidence in the bath room; they were prevalent in the dining room. "The women who were too ill to work in the shop were used in the dining room. I think all of them were tubercular and syphilitic. I have seen the food which the women were forced to eat handled by women with pus oozing from open sores on their arms and dripping into the dishes, and it was a common sight to see our food sprayed with tuberculosis germs from the lips of coughing convicts."

In spite of the fact that the head matron and the chief stool pigeon in the women's ward seem to have been unusually low and contemptible types, even for the human race, Mrs. O'Hare gives evidence of no personal animosity. She recognizes that they are the product of a system which vests prison and jail administration in about the most vile and incompetent type of public agents and officials. "Prison management has for the most part fallen into the hands of the most ignorant and corrupt type of politicians, and prison jobs have become the dumping ground for the inefficient and unfit relatives and political hangers-on of the professional politicians. These human misfits and failures are thrust into prison jobs because, as a rule, they are too worthless for any other employment. So far as I have been able to study them, I have found court bailiffs, jail turnkeys, prison guards, and prison matrons industrially unfit and generally illiterate human scrubs, mentally defective, morally perverted, and very often of a much lower type than the prisoners whom they handle." She also freely recognizes that such officials are, along with the prisoners, victims of the same brutally repressive system which denies to both prisoner and keeper the most elementary decencies and experiences of life. "The conditions under which these prison matrons lived and did their work would have made harpies and shrews out of the finest types of women—and these certainly had never been fine types. For the conditions that place women of their attainments and character in such positions, the public is incontrovertibly responsible."

Mrs. O'Hare's suggestions as to ways out of this barbarism are those now common to reformers in general, except that, as would be expected, she lays somewhat more than the usual degree of stress on the economic causes and cures for crime, and suggests that better and more thorough labor organization would eliminate much of our present delinquency:

Common sense would seem to dictate that we try some new methods. It might be wise for us to try the industrial organizer, the educator, the psychologist and the physician. I realize that it sounds very unorthodox to suggest that the industrial organizer might help in solving the problems of crime, but he has helped and is helping now. It cannot be disproved that, wherever the workers are well organized and well disciplined and have a certain security of employment and living wages, crime is reduced to a minimum.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the industrial union of the immigrant garment makers, has done more to Americanize, to raise the standards of living, to safeguard and create mental, moral and physical health among the great mass of this potentially dangerous group, than all our courts and laws have done. The obscure, unknown organizers of the Amalgamated have taken from our fetid slums the poverty-cursed, disease-ridden sweatshop workers of yesterday, and made them the most self-reliant, self-respecting, forward-looking group of the American labor movement today. The Industrial Workers of the World, the industrial union of the itinerant and seasonal worker of the country, has cleaned up the industrial pestholes in the lumber camps, canneries, fruit-packing industries, harvest fields, and construction camps. It has made possible law-abiding lives for hundreds of thousands of our most oppressed but socially useful workers. The lowly and despised "wobbly" has done more to reduce crime and build men among the homeless laborers of this country than all the "bulls" and "bull pens" we have. The farmers coöperatives and the Non-Partisan League have done more to lift the boys and girls of the farms above the danger of crime than all the repressive laws that were ever placed on statute books. The discoveries of the part that hookworm, malaria, pellagra, tuberculosis and venereal diseases play in producing the industrial unfitness that is such an important factor in delinquency, and the splendid efforts made by the medical profession to combat these evils, have done more for real progress in sane criminology in the last ten years than the lawyers have done in a century. The work of the newer school of psychiatry, based on the theories of Freud and his co-workers, has shed more light on causative factors in crime than all the musty law books ever compiled.

Mr. Osborne's little book contains nothing that has not been embodied in his earlier and larger works describing his prison experiences, his administrative labors, the Mutual Welfare League and his theories of crime and reformation. But it has the advantage of presenting in a hundred small pages a clear and convincing statement of his whole penal philosophy. In his preface he summarizes what he believes to be the fundamental dictates of both common sense and scientific knowledge in dealing with prisoners:

- (1) Prisoners are human beings; for the most part remarkably like the rest of us.
- (2) They can be clubbed into submission—with occasional outbreaks; but they cannot be reformed by that process.
- (3) Neither can they be reformed by bribery in the shape of privileges—special favors or tolerant treatment.
- (4) They will not respond to sentimentality; they do not like gush.
- (5) They appreciate a "square deal"—when they get one.

(6) There are not many of them mental defectives; on the contrary, the majority are embarrassingly clever.

(7) All these facts must be taken into consideration, if we want prisons which will protect society. Unless they are taken into consideration, our correctional institutions will continue to be what they have been in the past—costly schools of crime—monuments of wasted effort, of misguided service.

Few informed students of the problem would dissent from Mr. Osborne's summary, with the possible exception of point number (6). While we no longer look upon the majority of criminals as "feeble-minded," many are such, and many that possess an average IQ are emotionally disordered, which may be quite as serious and may make them even more non-responsive to merely administrative improvements in prisons. Mr. Henderson's *Keys to Crookdom* supplements Mr. Osborne on this point and shows that the "cleverness" of many criminals is of a superficial and limited type that proves no intellectual distinction. In the words of Vollmer, "the individual crook is revealed as a deluded mountebank and the little box of tricks that appeared so wonderful is disclosed as a cheap and pitiful sham." But if Mr. Osborne is slightly in error in his theory of the criminal personality, he is far more than fifty per cent right even here, and his errors in this field scarcely affect his theories of penology, where he has done his real work. It is the opinion of the reviewer that his contributions to penal administration rank in importance second only to the findings of modern psychiatry in the development of contemporary criminology and penology, and that ultimately he will be placed with John Howard and Elizabeth Fry in the history of penal reform. The best that modern thought can now offer is a combination of the psychiatric work of Healy, Glueck, White, Adler, Jacoby, Hickson and others with Osborne's administrative innovations.

Perhaps the most interesting and significant thing about this small volume is Mr. Osborne's evident effort to prove that the Mutual Welfare League plan is not the product of gush and sentimentality, but a hard-headed scheme based upon long and varied experimentation, and capable of much further empirical modification. And he proves his point quite successfully. It is a melancholy fact that the League has now all but disappeared from penal practice. "At Auburn, poli-

tics and official stupidity have almost completely smothered it; at Sing Sing, politics of the foulest kind drove one warden from office, and it was a seriously curtailed League which the present warden inherited; but, crippled as it is, it has won his confidence and support. At Portsmouth, the League is gone; as soon as the present Naval administration came into power it hastened to undo what a former administration had created. So it is unfortunately true that a fully developed Mutual Welfare League can be seen nowhere at the present time." Yet Mr. Osborne has not lost heart. He contends that "the Mutual Welfare League is not dead and can never die; the principle on which it rests is eternal." We believe he is right.

Sir Ruggles-Brise was the Royal Commissioner of Prisons from 1895 to 1921, and it is an interesting reflection on the progress of criminology and penology in England that the man who was originally looked upon as a daring innovator was recently pretty thoroughly discredited by the Hobhouse and Brockway Report and other allied investigations. The book is a history of the more formal aspects of prison administration since 1872, with an account also of the international prison congresses and the international aspects of prison reform. It is in many ways a very convenient and authoritative summary, but it gives little evidence of accord with or a grasp upon recent developments.

The work of Warden Lawes of Sing Sing is perhaps the most thorough study of the alleged deterrent effect of the death penalty. He has gathered elaborate statistics comparing the homicides in states which have abolished the death penalty and those which have retained it, and also the homicide rate in the same state before and after the abolition of the death penalty. In spite of the mass of concrete evidence collected, the exploitation of the statistical data is not highly scientific. He apparently knows little of such simple statistical concepts as weighted averages, ratios, standard of deviation, correlations and probable error. In many ways his book would furnish Professor Chaddock with admirable illustrative material as to the dangers in a popular utilization of statistical information. The great number of factors other than penalties affecting the homicide rate are largely ignored

when assembling and interpreting the statistical data, though Mr. Lawes in various parts of his book recognizes their existence. Further, there is no adequate psychiatric classification of the different types of homicidal motivation, with a consideration of how far any penalty would obstruct murder in each case. Nevertheless, it must be held that he has made a definitive and authoritative case against those who contend that the death penalty alone will notably reduce homicides. He has rather effectively destroyed the stock argument that it is of undoubtedly great deterrent potency. With the following general conclusions of the book we may also heartily agree:

Life imprisonment with a long unavoidable minimum provides a form of punishment that is more certain of application than the death penalty can ever be made; it is more scientific in application because with its long but variable minimum it presents a possibility for individualization and differentiation of treatment; by reason of these qualities its universal adoption will provide a more effective deterrent. . . .

My own opinion, which is borne out by statistics, is that the comparatively small number of homicides in Canada and England and in France is due to the accuracy, the certainty and the celerity of justice as administered in those countries rather than to the form of severity of the punishment.

And it is satisfactory and pleasing to discover a prominent prison administrator able to use and approve of much of the nomenclature of scientific criminology. In the opinion of the reviewer it is now scientifically absurd even to talk of "capital punishment," for the very reason that it is as absurd to talk about "punishment" at all for criminals as it is to discuss "punishing" tubercular patients or paretics. Yet, it seems to me that in the future, when we begin to "treat" criminals, it may well be that the method of "treating" by painless extermination may be greatly extended beyond the scope of the present death penalty. Low grade non-reformable criminals might well be brought within the range of the operation of this principle, along with idiots, imbeciles, paretics and thoroughly demented dementia-praecox types. The arguments for this procedure were long ago assembled by Dr. McKim, and contested by Dr. Parsons in his chapter on the death penalty.

Miss Jesse's work is an attempt to analyze and classify the motives for murder. This task is

one which has been awaiting execution, as it is without scientific value to talk of murder as a act of uniform and universal nature and motivation. Miss Jesse finds that the motives of murder are desire for some resulting pecuniary advantage, blocked ambitions, jealousy, revenge, political rivalry and conviction, and mere desire for killing. That this classification may have some merit and validity may be admitted, much as the older classifications of criminals as criminals by passion, accidental criminals, and born criminals were of some preliminary significance, but it is probable that any substantial study of the nature and motivation of murder will have to be done by the psychiatrist, who can analyze the traits of the criminal imbecile, the genesis and nature of the unconscious compulsions, such as moved Loeb and Leopold, and the nature of the part played by pure passion. We are all subject in differing degrees to jealousy, revengeful spirit, ambition, and lust for wealth and position, but most of us endeavor to advance our aspirations through other means than the automatic pistol and the butcher-knife. The layman is no more likely to render definitive service in the classification of murder than in the description of the pathogenesis of epilepsy or the psychoses.

Mrs. Hamilton has given us an excellent brief account of the development of the policewoman as an important phase of the police administration of the modern metropolitan department. Her analysis is comprehensive, covering such things as standards, organization, education, duties on patrol, detective service, location of runaways, location of missing persons, dealing with women and children in crime, the prevention of crime, and possible dangers and improvements in the activities of women in the police service. The book is fairly free from either gush or special pride, and is a straight-forward and sensible description of the problems and achievements of the work with which she is concerned. She proves that in many fields a woman can serve the function of both detection and prevention far better than the average male, and we may look for an even greater extension of this type of professional activity for women. It is quite evident, however, that there is nothing inherent in woman which makes her a born criminologist, and the real service of the policewoman will de-

pend pretty much upon the degree to which she becomes acquainted with the modern scientific concepts of crime, its nature, causes and prevention. As an amateur criminologist woman possesses the special danger of becoming "snoopy" and petty, having already cheated many a "poor working girl" out of a good dinner by efforts to apprehend and discourage "mashers."

Of all the books on criminology under review here, that by Mr. Wellman is the most imposing in weight and dimensions and by far the least significant and important in content. It is also quite obviously paradoxically christened, there rarely being any gentlemen on juries. It is an extremely garrulous and anecdotal collection of observation by an eminent court lawyer on the history of trial by jury, and of experiences with witnesses, lawyers and judges. The chapter on the history of trial by jury misses nearly all the important points established by recent scholarship, and gives little hint at those weaknesses and anachronisms of the jury system today which are inseparable from the mode of its origin and development. About the only important thing contributed here is the interesting quotation from *Duncomb's Trials* as to the mystical and sacred nature of the number twelve as applied to juries. This is so excellent that it deserves quotation:

"As to the sanctity and foreordained character of the number twelve, and first as to their (the jury's) number twelve; and this number is no less esteemed by our law than by Holy Writ. If the Twelve Apostles on their twelve thrones must try us in our eternal state, good reason hath the law to appoint the number twelve to try our temporal. The tribes of Israel were twelve; the Patriarchs were twelve, and Solomon's officers were twelve (1 King IV, 7). Therefore, not only matters of fact were tried by twelve, but in ancient times twelve judges were to try matters in law. In the Exchequer Chambers there were twelve counsellors of state for matters of state and he that appealed to the law must have eleven others with him who believe he says true and the law is so precise in their number of twelve that if the trial be by more or less than twelve it is a mistrial."

And the degree to which he has been able to profit by his experience as a court lawyer is indicated by his reverent quotation (pp. 25-6) of Joseph H. Choate's fervid defense of the jury system, and by his own estimate:

A very large part of my professional life has been spent before juries, and I have learned to regard them with the utmost respect. Physicians spend their lives among their patients and become sincerely attached to them during their efforts to heal them. A lawyer feels much the same way after he has spent a life time in trying to persuade jurors to see the light and decide cases in his favor; and while a lawyer sometimes meets with incurable cases, just as a physician does, yet the vast majority of jurors seem to me to try to do the right thing and come nearer the mark than any other tribunal yet devised.

It is significant that Mr. Wellman, probably unconsciously, suggests that from the lawyer's viewpoint the "sick man" in our modern criminal procedure is the juror rather than the criminal! But Mr. Wellman offers in the course of his book much concrete evidence as to the burlesque and futility of jury service and jury verdicts, one representative example being the destruction of a district-attorney's argument by the performance of vaudeville stunts by the attorney for the defense during the concluding argument of the prosecutor (p. 153). Incidentally, he shows that the travesty of criminal justice in the American courts is due quite as much to lawyers and judges as to jurors, citing one interesting case (p. 298) in which the "learned judge" had been asleep during the concluding speeches by both the district-attorney and the lawyer for the defense. We are, however, inclined to be tolerant and sympathetic with the justice. He was apparently a man of long service before lawyers and juries! Mr. Wellman's work contains a large number of interesting side-lights on court methods and famous lawyers and judges, but the material embodied will be most useful only when exploited and reinterpreted by one who has veritably "seen the light."

The sensations and observations of any even half-way informed scientific student of criminology to the data assembled in these books must of necessity be much like those of a learned surgeon or physician reading clinical notes describing over ninety per cent of his colleagues in

the profession carrying on their work according to the concepts and practices of Hippocrates and Galen, and indicating that the barbers are still monopolizing the profession of surgery and the mid-wives that of obstetrics; or like those of a modern astronomer compelled to read elaborate descriptions of the late solar eclipse interpreted solely in terms of astrology. Indeed, the modern criminologist is actually in about the position of the most advanced physicians and surgeons of 1800, who were observing the painfully slow transition of their subject and profession from magic, superstition, folk-lore and tradition to scientific observation and inductive methods. We may hope that the progress in the general adoption of scientific criminological concepts and practices will not be less slow in the century before us than was the triumph of scientific medicine between 1800 and 1900.

While we should welcome the efforts of all reformers in penal administration like Mr. Osborne, it seems to the reviewer that the two most effective lines of assault upon barbarism in the treatment of criminals will be in the way of an even better development of the scientific study of the criminal personality through psychiatry and allied sciences, and the parallel attack upon our juristic system, including most notably the jury system. It is the whole system of contemporary court procedure, and the antiquated theories underlying it, which not only make possible the atrocious prison system, but effectively prevent science from entering seriously upon the task of treating and preventing crime. Along with these improvements should go a third, namely, more honest and efficient methods of detecting crime and apprehending its perpetrators. Here modern science is making advances quite as startling and revolutionary as anything done in the last generation in psychiatry and eugenics. All we need to do is to supplant the conventional police chiefs by men of the stamp of Vollmer and Woods. Which is likely, in the light of modern democratic and partisan political practices, to be "some job!"

PSYCHOLOGY AND HUMAN CONDUCT

L. L. BERNARD

THE NORMAL MIND. By William H. Burnham. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1924. xix + 702 pp. \$3.50.

ABNORMAL PSYCHOLOGY AND EDUCATION. By Frank Watts. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1924. xxi + 220 pp. \$2.00.

PLEASURE AND BEHAVIOR. By Frederic Lyman Wells. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1924. xvi + 274 pp. \$2.50.

THESE THREE books may properly be classified under the heading of mental and social hygiene, if we understand by this term something prophylactic and general and positive rather than institutional and technical. The first two run rather to individual analysis and the study of characteristic traits and capacities, looking to their proper utilization, while the third bases a program of proper self-expression upon an analysis of the fundamental urges.

Of these three books *The Normal Mind* has most to offer the lay reader. It is simply and interestingly written and has decidedly a common-sense viewpoint without neglecting scientific accuracy. The author makes extensive use of the conditional reflex as a method of habit formation and character building. The five chapters out of a total of twenty-one which he devotes to an analysis of the method of the conditional reflex, render his book one of the fullest treatments of this subject that we have in English. Mental hygiene, in the author's conception, is the building up of proper habits of adjustment of the individual to his environment by always providing him with those associations in the learning process which will render the performance of normal tasks and obligations satisfying and pleasureable. The unpleasant associations act as inhibitions and induce conflict situations which may easily produce neurotic behavior and otherwise disintegrate character.

The book is written largely from the standpoint of child training, but its conclusions are easily applicable to adult problems. The aim of mental hygiene, as the author conceives it, is the development of an integrated personality, one which functions easily and efficiently in relation to its environment. The most effective method of

normally integrating personality is to give the child, or adult, a task to perform. This task should, of course, be one which is in harmony with the purposes of society, and its realization will be all the more effective if it involves numerous and varied contacts with one's fellows for its adequate performance. Hence social tasks are hygienically the best for normal mental and moral integration of personality. This fact the school must recognize. It should not aim merely at technic perfection, but rather at functional efficiency in a social situation, and technic perfection will follow as a result of absorption in the task. In this way the personality will be integrated through relating the problem to a goal and proficiency in technique will be accomplished at the same time.

In this socializing-learning process a properly trained teacher is herself necessary. She must understand the psychology and the physiology of the child, and she must appreciate the problems of adjustment in the social world which the character builder must meet. For character building is after all the chief end of education. All other things are only aids to this integration of personality. As yet our teachers and our social workers are inadequately trained in these basic principles of mental and social hygiene, and herewith arises an important social—and sociological—problem.

Our misfit education and social adjustment, which so often obtain at the present time, are due primarily to a failure to appreciate the significance of conditioned responses (reflexes, the author persists in calling them, even when dealing with complex social training). It is in the early years that most of the fundamental and determinative associated responses are set up; and because parents and teachers are ignorant of the unconscious ways in which such conditioned associations are made, all sorts of inhibiting and wasteful associations are formed. This is especially true of the fears. We frighten children into the performance of tasks instead of associating rewards with success. Parents especially have much to learn here. The best sort of rewards are not extrinsic ones which end in the possession or consumption of a thing, but in the setting of another

task to which the former one is regarded merely as preliminary. The art of making the reward a task is not as difficult as it may seem, if the teacher or parent is as wise as Tom Sawyer. The most unhygienic situation in modern education and social adjustment is the ease and frequency with which fear inhibitions instead of pleasure sanctions may become attached to almost any sort of socially useful task or adjustment. Conflicts arise in personalities as a consequence and these persons must function thereafter at a fraction of their potential capacity.

This error in hygiene is especially noticeable in what the author calls pseudo-feeble-mindedness. Much that is mistaken for congenital mental defect in our schools and in society at large, he is convinced, is in reality due to some emotional tie-up of the mental and physiological powers. A skillful handling of such cases, if taken early enough, may restore them to normal functioning in a social environment. In this connection he cites the case of Professor Witmer's Don, among other illustrations. If no efforts at release are undertaken until after the personality has become set around the fear or other emotional inhibitions the person will probably be doomed the rest of his life to act and be classified as a congenital mental defective. One of the methods of securing a release from inhibitions of this sort is technical psycho-analysis. Much of this technique, the author holds, is metaphysically based and is involved, but the essentials can be simplified and systematized so that they can be employed non-technically to good advantage by wise parents, teachers and social workers. In antithesis to pseudo-feeble-mindedness he is inclined to accept Bateson's definition of genius as the relatively complete freedom of the normal mind from inhibitions. The implications of such a theory, if it should be established, for the sociologist and the educationist are obvious.

It will be inferred from what has been said that the author relies more on habit training than on instinct. However, he recognizes the importance of inheritance and devotes part of one chapter to a fairly appreciative discussion of mental tests. In keeping with his theory of making the reward another desirable task, he emphasizes the hygienic value of the expectation of success, of the positive pedagogic attitude of en-

couragement instead of the threat or prediction of failure. Illustrative cases everywhere render the text pleasant and intelligible.

Professor Watts, on the other hand, has taken rather the negative viewpoint in mental hygiene and consequently his volume supplements admirably the one just considered. His treatment is not as brilliant or as spontaneous, but perhaps it is more systematic and indulges less in repetition. He starts with the proposition that the abnormal is merely the overemphasis of the normal. This is equally true of the supernormal as of the subnormal types. He warns us, however, against taking the average as the normal, because in many periods of history and in not a few contemporary situations the average is out of line with the saner, larger tendencies of development.

He applies the concept of normality to crowds and comes to the conclusion that all the crowd processes are normal in their proper expression but abnormal in the exaggerated forms. Consequently the psychology of the crowd may profitably be employed both in education and in social control when used wisely and with restraint as an aid to facilitation and in the creation of emotional drive. However, the crowd enthusiasm should never become an end in itself, but should be merely preliminary to a rational examination of a problem and the synthesis of a program.

Both Watts and Burnham would make much of suggestion in education, offering the motivation first and the guidance to achievement later. In order to bring suggestion to bear naturally and effectively upon the child (or adult) it should be indirect. To this end Watts emphasizes the importance of music, celebrations, pageants, etc., as motivations. But neither writer is under the illusion that education ends here: this is only preliminary to actual analysis and constructive synthesis. Both believe that the primary problem in education, in fact in all social orientation, is to secure the right attitudes, to fix the proper habits, first. As Burnham puts it, more training and less instruction at first. After that an analysis of the situation can proceed with more intelligence and readjustments can be made on the basis of the re-examination. Apparently the underlying assumption here is that modern life is so complex and the wisdom of the adult so much greater than that of the child, that it would be a waste of

moral and social energy to allow the child to find his own adjustment without the guidance of the adult. For this reason they are not particularly friendly to those types of schools which turn the child loose in the world to find himself. Also Watts points out that mentally immature and psychasthenic youths of both sexes who are physiologically overdeveloped very easily drift into abnormal social adjustments when insufficiently guided by those of maturer experience. Yet both deprecate the practice of parents, teachers, officials and employers in thinking for those under their charge. The learner must be given the largest freedom that he can intelligently make use of, for only thus can he avoid conflicts and repressions and achieve those particular variants in adjustment which are essential to progress. One must readjust one's world as well as adjust to it. Burnham repeatedly gives the advice: When not sure what to do to the child, let him alone, on the assumption that he will find his way out. One cannot expect all habits to be permanent. Burnham points out that we must expect habits to be built up with reference strictly to the adjustment situation normal for any particular age period or environmental condition. If there is adequate freedom from inhibitions, the old habits will give way and new ones will be formed to fit new adjustment situations. We must avoid living in a cast iron system, either personal or social.

The larger portion of Watts' book is devoted to the study and classification of defectives, with special emphasis upon the methods of education which will enable them to obtain as effective an adjustment to society as is possible. This makes it necessary for the author to discuss methods of detecting subnormality and abnormality. The emotional defective—the neurotic and the psychasthenic in particular—cannot readily be detected by the tests which are easily applicable to the feeble-minded. His criticism of the standard tests is one of the best brief ones in psychological and educational literature, without neglecting the strong points where they exist. He makes it clear that they test training as well as native capacity and even maintains that the latter could not be measured without considering the former, which is its only apparent mode of expression. He also sees clearly that the instincts are not

infallible, and he almost attains to the recognition of the fact that most of the so-called instincts do not exist.

Watts is more sympathetic with the methods and results of psychoanalysis than is Burnham. He is especially warm in his praises of Freud as contrasted with Janet, because the former has offered a more functional and dynamic analysis and treatment of neuroses. Like most other writers, he refuses to follow the highly sexual interpretations of dreams and conflicts which he believes the Freudians have read into the child's emotional life. Both schools of abnormal psychology are to be praised for bringing the subconscious processes into the light. Perhaps the most helpful material in the book, from the standpoint of the teacher, is the careful analysis he gives of the methods of educating defective children, developed by Itard, Pereira and Seguin and applied by Mme. Montessori to the education of normal children. These experimenters established definitely the priority of sense training to abstract learning and evaluative adjustment.

Dr. Wells believes that civilization, whatever other advantages it has, has not given us an increase in pleasure. This is not because there is not more opportunity for pleasurable experience, but because we have not learned to take advantage of our opportunities. He would reduce the psychology of pleasurable response to scientific form. He recognizes the relativity of feeling in that feeling values may be conditioned to almost any type of response, even to those which did not originally give the same quality of feeling tone. It is somewhat surprising, therefore, that he treats the sociology of pleasure response primarily from a traditional viewpoint. One must agree with him, of course, that the chief feeling correlations are with food, self-defense, sex, companionship, ethical obligations, art, and the intellectual life. But these sources are by no means in the same plane. On the whole he appears to expect the search for pleasure to be made on a rather sensory basis, but this is perhaps because he is writing primarily for the semi-popular reader.

As a contribution to scientific analysis the book is of little value. It abounds in the commonplace and the viewpoint is rather subjective, almost individualistic, rather than scientific and objectively social. He would have profited greatly by a

more thorough knowledge of sociological data, but even in psychology apparently he sometimes neglects the more recent terminology and findings. For example, he still clings to the now outgrown phrase "pleasure and pain" to indicate pleasantness and unpleasantness. He appears to have little faith in the power of science to reorganize the social order for a democratic distribution of pleasure. In fact he finds the tendency to be to concentrate it in the possession of a few. This he attributes to the growing complicatedness which science brings into modern life. But is he not wrong in supposing that science cannot bring unity of organization out of this complexity? And since pleasantness is merely the feeling consciousness correlate of neural integration, corresponding to social and individual behavior organization, science and science only should be able to make the world both efficient and pleasure-giving. Whether it will do so is another question, and this question can be answered not by psychology, but primarily by the social sciences.

In spite of the fact that Well's book falls short of the degree of perfection and insight one could desire, it is a very hopeful sign of our intellectual awakening and our growing emancipation from the traditional repressions and controls that someone would undertake to re-evaluate in terms of feeling the major meanings of our behavior. We have freed ourselves in a measure from the tyranny of spirit worship. If now we can escape from the idols of the crowd, we may begin to be free and realize something of the exhilaration of spirit in creative moral relations which Bateson claims in the mental realm for the uninhibited genius. That, with the new insight into the meaning and possibilities of life which science—especially psychology and sociology—will or should bring us, mental and social hygiene will play an increasing rôle we cannot doubt. The old mental and social hygienics were negative and dealt with pathology; the new are positive and are concerned with the constructive unfoldment of life. To this fact these volumes are witness.

THE INSTINCT CONTROVERSY

CHARLES C. JOSEY

INSTINCT. By L. L. Bernard. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1924, viii, 550 pp. \$3.50.

THIS book is an attempt to show that in the determination of conduct, character and institutions, environment plays a much greater part than heredity. Man, it is held, in virtue of the complexity of his nervous system has reached a degree of plasticity that separates him from other animals. Animals other than man have to adjust themselves to environmental pressures by changes in their biological natures. Man proceeds differently. He adjusts himself by rendering definite and determinate the loosely formed connections in his nervous system.

In maintaining the thesis that the environment is of preponderant importance in determining the behavior of man, Professor Bernard examines numerous misconceptions of heredity and instincts. He very justly exposes the weaknesses of explanations of behavior in terms of heredity. He also very justly and aptly criticises the "biological fallacy," which consists in interpreting

man's behavior in terms of data collected in the study of simple organisms. He goes much further than this, however. He does not merely insist on the importance of environment; nor does he merely criticise certain extravagances of those who emphasize heredity. He rejects completely the view of instinct that is held by practically all psychologists. In doing this, however, he attempts to show that he is only carrying out more consistently certain definitions of instinct that nearly all psychologists accept.

Thus he points out that practically all psychologists agree that instincts are inherited and that they must be given a nervous basis. With these two propositions he fully agrees. Most of the psychologists whom he quotes also give a teleological definition of instinct. This attempt to define instinct both structurally and teleologically, Professor Bernard holds, is the cause of the present confusion regarding the use of instinct. Hence he holds that instincts must be defined wholly in terms of structure. His case for the structural definition is made to rest on: (1) con-

sensus of opinion; (2) theories of heredity which preclude the possibility of inheriting anything other than structure; and (3) destructive criticism of the teleological view of instinct. I wish to discuss each of these briefly.

In regard to the argument from consensus of opinion, Professor Bernard himself shows that psychologists in general attempt to give a teleological as well as a structural definition of instinct. They attempt to define instinct in both ways. In their thought the teleological conception seems to play a greater rôle than the structural conception. If these conceptions cannot be reconciled, it follows that the consensus of opinion favors the teleological view equally as much as it does the structural. Hence on the basis of current opinion, one could reject the structural definition with as much justification as the teleological definition.

Professor Bernard's arguments against the teleological view of instinct based on theories of heredity seem too deductive. There is too great a tendency to say what can or what cannot be inherited. It would seem better to examine the facts directly and let the theories take care of themselves. Instead of doing this the author takes a theory of heredity as proof that tendencies which are commonly called instincts cannot be inherited. In a way, of course, it is true that we inherit only structure. The essential question pertains to the nature of the structure. Is it a mechanical or a teleological structure?

The destructive criticism of Professor Bernard of the teleological conception of instinct rests almost wholly on the assumption that instincts must be defined structurally. For every instinct there must be a definite and specific structure. Thus he argues that pugnacity, play, constructiveness, maternal love and a number of other activities, which are generally denoted instinctive, cannot be instincts because each one of them uses a great multitude of structures—the structure which is used depending on the situation and experience. Moreover it is argued that if two so-called instincts use the same structure, they cannot be true instincts, for each instinct must have its specific nervous basis. It is also argued that since different so-called instincts may secure the same end, they cannot be defined teleologically or functionally. Another argument

against the teleological view of instinct makes use of the "biological fallacy," which has been so aptly criticized in an earlier part of the book. Instincts, it is held, cannot have ends, because ends must be conscious. But the purest forms of instinct are found in lower organisms, which are unconscious. Therefore, instincts in man cannot have conscious ends. In another place it is held that whenever consciousness directs, the behavior is not due to an instinct.

There are a number of other arguments against instinct as commonly understood. These are based essentially on the assumption that "discharge patterns or mechanisms are habits if they have been built up in response to the resistance of, or in response to the opportunity afforded by, the environment for this discharge." (6, italics mine.) On the basis of this he rejects altruism and humility as being instinctive. Stimuli are necessary to arouse these attitudes. Therefore, they are not instinctive. Moreover altruism is not instinctive because some stimulus which he thinks should arouse it does not. "If altruism were instinctive, the altruistic act would be performed toward the tramp quite regardless of whether he were socially desirable, whether he were your friend or a stranger" (359). No psychologist, as far as I know, who accepts the teleological view of instinct, claims that instincts are aroused by all situations.

The author, in my opinion, is unsuccessful in his attempt to demolish the teleological view of instinct. He is even more unsuccessful in his attempt to show that instincts must be defined wholly in terms of structure. Indeed it would not be much of an exaggeration to say that he shows just the opposite of what he attempts to show. He argues that if a so-called instinct, say pugnacity for example, uses nervous structures which are used by another so-called instinct, say play, these cannot be instincts. He also argues that because pugnacity uses a great many nervous structures it is not an instinct. The fact, however, that play and pugnacity use the same nervous structures, and that any given instinct may use a great many nervous structures, may be taken to indicate that instincts cannot be defined in terms of structure. This seems a more reasonable inference than the one drawn by Professor Bernard.

Professor Bernard, himself, calls attention to two very significant facts in this connection, namely, we have not been able to localize instincts, and secondly, the organism functions as a whole. Leaving aside recent work in neurology which forces a revision regarding our ideas of localized functions, the mere fact that the organism functions as a whole should warn us against expecting to localize the great purposes, tendencies and desires of an organism. For the desires and purposes of an organism are the desires and purposes of an organism as a whole and not the desires and purposes of a definite nervous arc. If these desires, tendencies and purposes are inherited, as many of them are generally thought to be, they are properly called instinctive, even though we may never assign them a definite locus in the organism. I, therefore, conclude that pugnacity may be an instinct even though we cannot give it a nervous arc, and even though it may at one time lead to the use of a pistol and at another to a kick. Professor Bernard really shows that the attempt to define instinct purely in terms of structure is a hopeless one.

As a matter of fact, Professor Bernard only pays lip service to the truth that organisms function as a whole. In reality he gives an extremely atomistic view of human behavior. Much of his criticism of instinct would lose all force if he really thought of the organism functioning as a whole rather than as an aggregation of unit structures. Instead of conceiving of the organism functioning as a whole he conceives of it as functioning bit by bit. It is because the so-called instincts are not definite concrete acts connected with definite unit structures that he refuses to regard them as true instincts.

In denying that the human being possesses innate preferences, purposes or tendencies, or instincts as they are commonly called, the author gives us a strange view of man. We have the picture of a very delicate and sensitive machine on which the environment builds as its pleases. The machine by becoming very delicate and complex has lost all innate interests. It evolved only for the environment in whose hands it has become a mere puppet.

In spite of the author's criticism of intellectualism, his denial of instinct, as might be expected, leads him to the intellectualistic view of

behavior. Intelligence arose to direct and control the instincts in the service of the individual. It is a mistake to think of intelligence serving instincts. Just why the individual should care how he functions, he does not make clear. The fact that the individual does care is usually explained in terms of instinct.

The book is a valuable one. It is one of the most important books that deal with the problems of instinct. It not only explodes most successfully many extravagant uses of instinct and heredity, but it goes most thoroughly into a discussion of the various uses of instinct. All who wish to keep up with the current discussion of the use and meaning of instinct should read it.

CREATIVE EXPERIENCE. By M. P. Follett. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1924, xix, 303 pp. \$3.00.

In the Messianic mood which produced *The New State*, Miss Follett has again conceived and brought forth *Creative Experience*. Poor Humanity has never had the proper bringing-up, and here it squats, after half a million years of social evolution, puking and bawling, with its nose in perennial flux. But Miss Follett will fix it. She will quiet Humanity's sick stomach with large doses of "circular response"; allay Humanity's peevishness with the soothing lullaby of "integrative behavior"; and wipe the unruly nose with the "Gestalt concept." And ever afterwards Humanity will be a "plusvalent" boy and have lots of "creative experience."

Miss Follett belongs, one perceives, to that rapidly expanding group of Serious Thinkers, best represented in England by Graham Wallas and in America by Walter Lippmann, who bring to the interpretation and "solution" of the legal, industrial, ethical and political problems of contemporary civilization the fruits of the latest psychological research and philosophic speculation. They arise from their studies, eyes bright with the ecstasy of revelation, and cry aloud in the wilderness, "Lo, the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand!" By those who like that sort of thing, who believe that Western civilization can be converted and saved through "psychological truths," Miss Follett's book will be read with delight and acclaim. But those students of human society who have come under the evil influence of William Graham Sumner and the later critical eth-

nologists will only marvel at the persistence of that sound and fury which signify nothing.

In *The New State* Miss Follett argued, with ecclesiastical solemnity, that the only hope of "true democracy" was in living and learning democracy in and through the group, the community center. In *Creative Experience* she undertakes to explain, in terms of the "new psychology," the nature of the group or community process. While in the former work we were repeatedly warned against the danger of deriving our new social psychology from the application of individual psychology to group situations, this is precisely what Miss Follett has done in *Creative Experience*. To the careful reader the net result is a picture, not of the group process as it is, but of the group process as it may be when all Miss Follett's dreams come true. At times the author seems well aware that she is not describing what goes on in human society, but what could conceivably go on if only the "crescent power of the human spirit" were released. But at other times she is irritatingly oblivious to the "ought" implicit in her generalizations.

The book contains one idea, tiresomely reiterated, abundantly illustrated, variously applied to politics, industry, ethics and law. It is the idea, independently discovered, according to Miss Follett, on many thought-levels, and always discoverable in the most profound philosophy of the ages, that progress—value-creating, power-creating, will-creating, purpose-creating—is through the release and integration of the action tendencies of each and every individual in society. This is the vital core of every psychology of integration, and the psychology of integration must henceforth take the place of the specific-response psychology which failed to give us the "creating relation." The theory of integrative behavior, involving the doctrine of circular response, gives us creative experience. Well, what of it?

Just this, answers Miss Follett: Our theory of integration teaches us that experience is a self-sustaining and self-renewing process. Experts are not the revealers of "truth," nor is the legal order its guardian. For there is no such thing as vicarious experience, and the "truth" is to be found only in the concrete daily activities of human beings, in the creative interweaving and integrating of the desires of men. In this be-

havior process is all thinking, willing, purposing; in it "individual" and "situation" each is creating itself anew, relating themselves anew, giving us always "evolving situations." There is no "adjustment" in the sense of submission or mastery; adjusting is integrating, the perfect union of submission and mastery. Man, moreover, does not live by logical systems, and experience is not a verifying, a pigeon-holing, process. Only through the process of integrating, of creating, do we verify. Experience is the creator of all criteria, and in the integrative process we find the "power" we seek.

How does Miss Follett know that this is the behavior process? Well, she has been reading the works of Holt, Bok, Kempf, Sherrington, Köhler, von Ehrenfels, Koffka and, with mental reservations, those of Watson, Ogden and Freud, and she finds in all of them implicit or explicit confirmation of her intuitions. Not satisfied, she has sought and found further corroborative testimony among jurists, ethical philosophers, social workers and captains of industry. The array of authorities is impressive. Suppose one grants that here we have the true scientific exposition of the behavior process, and then looks at the daily activities of human beings, at the interweaving and integrating of their desires. Do we find what Miss Follett's impassioned prose has led us to expect? We do not. We find what Sumner called the masses and what Mr. Mencken refers to more euphemistically as the boobery engrossed in the activities of eating, sleeping, excreting, reproducing, boot-legging, cross-word-puzzling and dying, in ways more or less predetermined by the cultural crazy-quilt in which they became entangled by the bloody accident of birth. Where is this "creative experience"? We turn back the pages of culture history. Where has this creative experience been hiding in all the weary years that have passed since Neanderthal man chipped flint? Evidently there is something in the group process of which Miss Follett is ignorant or which she elects to ignore. That something is sometimes called cultural inertia, sometimes the persistence of the past and sometimes human stupidity. To many students of society, this counter-process which usually makes experience anything but creative, is of great interest. And this recalls the point noted before, that Miss Follett is not de-

scribing the social process as it is, but as it ought to be. In that, she is typically sociological.

But can we transform what is into what ought to be? Disregarding the logical fallacies lurking in an affirmative, Miss Follett answers, Yes. We can adopt an experimental attitude to experience; we can make experts, administrators and people understand the behavior process; and thereby we can avoid the consent-of-the-governed mistake; substitute a working technique of democracy; create a participant electorate; achieve dynamic representation; derive law from the daily activities of men; set proper limits to a pragmatic jurisprudence; and resolve our political, industrial, ethical and legal conflicts in the creative confronting of life's inerasable diversities. All this, and more, through an understanding of circular response, "the deepest truth of life"! Miss Follett seems to rely chiefly upon the mysterious alchemy whereby the interweaving desires of fools can produce activities that are not foolish. And yet she vehemently denies that she is glorifying "the people," and clamorously protests against the anticipated accusation of mysticism. To that one can only reply that a rose by any other name would doubtless smell as sweet.

To the lovers of Humanity, to those who are satisfied with a specious psychological justification of their ardent longings for a literal democracy, to those whose faith in "the crescent power of the human spirit" remains unshaken even in the rush-hours on the New York subway, Miss Follett's *Creative Experience* will be a thing of beauty and a joy forever. It may be granted, too, that the book furnishes a salutary point of view for the more intelligent toreadors of committee-meetings, conferences and talk-fests. But to those who study human society from the comparative viewpoint, who postpone psychological explanations and interpretations until they know what it is they want to explain and interpret, who are reluctant to believe that the Millenium is imminent because the human nervous system is integrative in its action, *Creative Experience* will be just another illustration of what the Freudians mean by "wishful thinking."

RUSSELL GORDON SMITH.

Columbia University.

WHOLESOME CHILDHOOD. By Ernest R. Groves and Gladys Hoagland Groves. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924, xxi, 183 pp. \$1.50.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE UNADJUSTED SCHOOL CHILD. By John J. B. Morgan. New York: Macmillan, 1924, vii, 300 pp. \$2.00.

Workers in the field of applied psychology and mental hygiene have long felt the need for literature on habit training for character and personality formation written in a style intelligible to the lay person. Although simple books on infant feeding and various other problems of the physical hygiene of childhood have been available, the equally important field of mental development has been sadly neglected, so far as popular writing has been concerned. Now we have two books—one for parents, the other for teachers—which admirably fill the need. Moreover, although popular in style, both books adhere strictly to scientific fact, and are based on valid psychological principles although expressed in non-technical phraseology.

Professor and Mrs. Groves advise, very wisely, that training of the child in proper physical and mental habits be initiated at birth, and accordingly the first chapter deals with the principles of training for the infant during the first six months of his life. Succeeding chapters discuss other periods—six months to one year, one year to two years, two years to three years, etc.—in much detail, and with familiar and exceedingly appropriate illustrations. The sixth chapter deals with the first four years of the child's school life, and the seventh and last chapter briefly presents some of the cardinal points for understanding the period of pre-adolescence and early adolescence. It would be impossible, in the limited space of a review, to give any adequate conception of the wealth of material which Professor and Mrs. Groves have succeeded in condensing into their little book. It is not too long nor too abstruse for the busiest of mothers to find time to read. There is no doubt but that the absorption and application of its suggestions to problems of child training would mean an enormous improvement of the mental health of childhood, and add to the number of well-balanced personalities, properly equipped for meeting their own individual problems and for making satisfactory social adjustments.

Dr. Morgan is primarily concerned with the part the teacher plays in the personality development and mental health of her pupils. Although stripped of psychoanalytic terminology, the author's knowledge of this field is clearly shown. In fact, the book is chiefly concerned with describing, in simple language, the mental mechanisms which have been uncovered by psychoanalysis, showing how these quirks in the workings of the mind may lead to pathological personality traits, and indicating remedial and preventive measures. In order to make the matter entirely plain, Dr. Morgan has used illustrations profusely, but it must be admitted that his choice of examples is far better at some times than at others. Occasionally he selects as an illustration some definitely pathological case from the psychopathic hospital, when one might suspect that the description of some more familiar childhood situation would be more meaningful to the audience he is addressing, since teachers would be more apt to recognize the experiences of children in their own pupils. However, it may be that by this choice of illustrative cases Dr. Morgan is attempting to drive home the realization of where these peculiar situations in childhood may lead in later years if the difficulty is not removed. In any case, the book is well worth recommending to the teaching profession, since it presents in a vivid way, applicable to their immediate problems, principles which could otherwise be gotten only through a long and painstaking study of psychoanalytic literature in general. Dr. Morgan is to be especially complimented on his discussion of the various methods of "distorting reality," which is exceptionally clear and accurate.

It is through such books as these, written from sound psychological viewpoints, but in a style to be easily comprehended by those who have made no special study of psychology, that the knowledge of scientific principles of child training may be carried over to parents and teachers, in whose hands lies so largely the molding of the child's mental habits, his personality and character formation, and his future mental health.

PHYLLIS BLANCHARD.

Child Guidance Clinic No. 1,
National Committee for Mental Hygiene.

THE INTELLIGENCE OF CONTINUATION-SCHOOL CHILDREN IN MASSACHUSETTS. By L. Thomas Hopkins. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924, xi, 132 pp. \$1.75.

THE EDUCATION OF HANDICAPPED CHILDREN. By J. E. Wallace Wallin. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924, xiv, 394 pp. \$2.25.

Some fifteen years ago Thorndike and Ayres individually made studies on the elimination of pupils from the public schools. The reasons primarily assigned were those of poverty, home conditions or lack of adaptability to school environment. Little was said regarding the significance of low mentality as a factor in reducing the enrollment as one advances from the primary to the high school grades. Recent legislation in Massachusetts requiring children, ages 14 to 16, who for any reason whatever left the regular day schools, to attend continuation schools has made possible the study of that particular group of pupils who previously left school at the age of fourteen and dropped completely out of view of all educational agencies.

The author of this study, who is a Doctor of Education of Harvard and Professor of Education in the University of Colorado, has himself had experience in organizing continuation schools. He here compares 1,200 pupils in such schools with 1,980 in the ordinary day schools by group mental tests. Results for age 14 are distinguished from those for age 15. On every basis of comparison the continuation school pupils prove inferior. Their medium score was 35 points lower. From an effort to weigh the reasons for leaving school the author concludes that the reasons assigned by pupils themselves are unreliable; that the desire to go to work, or economic pressure at home are of small importance; and that the fundamental factor of most importance is inability actually to do the school work.

Readers who disagree with the use of tests altogether will no doubt quarrel with the conclusions here achieved, but it should be pointed out that they harmonize with scores of other studies in their general bearing and significance. The author finds a considerable number of continuation school pupils of high intelligence and much overlapping between them and pupils of the regular school. But he points strongly to the conclusion that the native intelligence of contin-

uation school pupils averages distinctly less than that of those who continue in regular schools. He advances important suggestions for more accurately fitting school activities to the interests and needs of students, and especially the importance of efforts to cultivate the powers of the superior. It should be noted, however, that a more refined technique is necessary to determine the weight to be attached to early years of schooling in producing lack of interest and distaste for school work at ages 14 and 15; also to determine the effects of a disturbance of instinctive trends and interest due to puberty or to various elements in the home or school environment. The results seem unquestionably sound, but in a rough way. Moreover, as every student now realizes, much individual work and extraordinary skill are necessary in order to make possible the application of general conclusions as causes and general theories as solutions to individual cases.

Professor Wallin, who is director of the Bureau of Special Education at Miami University, has written the most comprehensive and well-balanced treatise yet available on the whole subject of the social status of sub-normal children. It is far from a dry formal treatment of educational devices, but is rather a work of genuine sociological interest. The third section will be of greatest interest to readers of the JOURNAL because it deals with "The Social Menace of the Feeble-Minded," but the first section dealing with the historical development of theories and treatment of feeble-minded persons is a valuable summary. The middle section, dealing with the technique of education, is comprehensive and authoritative but of major interest to persons actually engaged in dealing with the backward. The case for differentiating educational programs so as to take account of individual differences is cogently presented in this second section (pp. 91-113).

In the third section are discussed such general questions as the relative fecundity of feeble-minded stocks, the intensity of inheritance of feeble-mindedness, the relation of low mentality to crime, drunkenness, sexual immorality, pauperism and vagrancy, and ultimate aims in dealing with the mentally deficient. These pages are notable for brief, terse summaries of a great many experiments, investigations and theories.

References are by no means always clear. In general the author holds feeble-mindedness, while highly correlated with the above marks of social deficiency, to be frequently an accessory rather than the direct cause. This is obviously a bit of metaphysics which may ease the blow but in no way alters the fact. He seems to think that the general debility found in the offspring of alcoholized or drugged parents and which is obviously due in part (at least in some animal experiments) to effects on parental germ cells, is reconcilable with Weismannism, but there is a vast difference between direct injury to the gametes and the inheritance of an acquired character. There is a very valuable appendix dealing with the classification of the mentally deficient, with illustrations. It is thus a work of great reference value, an encyclopaedia of extant knowledge and theory. It is usually discriminating though not always, as when the author approves the Lamarckianism of C. R. Redfield (p. 308).

F. H. HANKINS.

Smith College.

DYNAMIC PSYCHOLOGY. AN INTRODUCTION TO MODERN PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY AND PRACTICE. By DOM T. V. MOORE. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1924, viii, 444 pp. \$4.00.

The author, a monk of the order of St. Benedict and director of a clinic for nervous diseases, gives us a decidedly "practical" book (as indicated in the title by "dynamic"), but practical in the best sense, very scholarly and based on scientific theory. It ought to be very helpful to social workers who approach their task from one or both of the sides represented by the author's personality, from that of the churchman and that of the physician. The book is entirely free from denominational propaganda and will be generally helpful to the clergyman of any religion. And it is entirely free from "telepathic" and other "spiritual" quackery. It will convince any reader that the Catholic Church does not share the fear of certain Protestant "fundamentalists" that modern science attempts to destroy religion. It should make a splendid psychology text-book for students in theological seminaries or in colleges which prepare especially for the profession of the preacher.

A third of the book is devoted to historical and epistemological matter, to reflex action, and to the emotional life. All this is presented in such a manner that it will suit especially the needs of the class of students above mentioned. For about a hundred pages more the author presents "the driving forces of human nature and their adjustment." The discussion is full of sound advice, given by means of "cases" which illustrate, for example, such rules as these: "The lack of a plan of life leading to the wasting of life's most precious years is one of the most serious defects that can occur in anyone's psychological machinery. . . . Some err by excess in planning their life and give themselves up to idle dreams, in which character defects become dominant." The author then discusses the "conflicts" which arise especially in adolescence. He very

sanely makes clear that, while many conflicts have their roots in sexuality, by no means all of them do. He introduces the word "psychotaxis" for any normal adjustment to the life in human society, and "parataxes" for abnormal adjustments. The particular parataxes discussed are depression, anxiety, defense, compensation, and sublimation. On sixty pages the author then gives an excellent description of psychotherapy, describing and criticizing in five successive chapters the views of Freud, Jung, Adler, Adolf Meyer and himself. The last hundred pages are devoted chiefly to normal and pathological voluntary action in theory and practice. A very useful "glossary of technical terms" forms an appendix to the book.

MAX F. MEYER.

University of Missouri.

AT LAST HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY!

HARRY ELMER BARNES

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. By the late W. H. R. Rivers. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Company, 1924, x, 226 pp. \$4.00.

A THOUSAND YEARS OF THE TARTARS. By E. H. Parker. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Company, 1924, xii, 288 pp. \$5.00.

THE EARTH BEFORE HISTORY. By Edmond Perrier. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Company, 1925, xxiv, 345 pp. \$5.00.

LANGUAGE: A LINGUISTIC INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY. By J. Vendryes. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Company, 1925, xxviii, 378 pp. \$6.00.

THE HISTORY AND LITERATURE OF CHRISTIANITY FROM TERTULLIAN TO BOETHIUS. By Pierre de Labriolle. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Company, 1925, xxiii, 555 pp. \$7.50.

PREHISTORIC MAN: A GENERAL OUTLINE OF PREHISTORY. By Jacques de Morgan. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Company, 1925, xxiii, 304 pp. \$5.00.

THE THRESHOLD OF THE PACIFIC. By C. E. Fox. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Company, 1925, xvi, 379 pp. \$6.00.

SINCE about the beginning of the present century historical sociology has been the least thoroughly and adequately cultivated of the various fields of sociology. To the American Sociological Society it seems to have become a non-existent phase of sociological study. The salutary effort of Professor E. C. Hayes, when presi-

dent of the Society, to create a special section interested in historical sociology appears to have been abortive, and since that time the annual meetings have been devoted chiefly to wrangling over current problems in social psychology, various phases of contemporary social problems and diverse sermonizing—all extremely worth while and relevant, but scarcely the whole field of sociology. The reasons for this decline of interest in historical sociology seem relatively clear. The anthropologists have for the most part worked on the "prehistoric" period, though Professor Kroeber has recently shown how fruitful the anthropological method may be when applied to historical data. The philosophy of history of Comte, Spencer and others has been discredited, and the historians proper have been so thoroughly absorbed in a consideration of the unique, accidental, episodic and anecdotal aspects of political history that they have had little to contribute to the history of culture and social institutions. And, for the most part, the sociologists have been too pure and God-fearing to make much use of historical economics, which has been in part contaminated by the economic determination of history. With the rich and extensive material being put at their disposal by the biologists, psycholog-

ists, statisticians and anthropogeographers, and the always vivid interest in social betterment, it is not difficult to understand why sociologists, not without justice, have come to regard the field of social genesis as of little importance, or as impossible of fruitful exploitation, however significant. Yet, without a sound knowledge of the genesis of the various forms of human culture and the leading social institutions there can be no complete understanding of contemporary life and problems, and no valid plan for improvement in the future.

Now we have in a single great series the prospect of the complete reversal of the whole situation. We are promised a well planned set of around two hundred volumes by leading experts which will cover the whole history of human civilization from the eolithic period to the second quarter of the twentieth century, and which will make the equipment of the historical sociologists more complete and up-to-date than that of any other worker in the general field of sociology. Among the French cultivators of social history and historical sociology there has been no more enthusiastic or ambitious student than Henri Berr, whose *La Synthèse en Histoire*, published in 1911, deserves to rank with Karl Lamprecht's *What Is History?* and James Harvey Robinson's *The New History* as a promulgation of the principles of the newer dynamic and synthetic historical writing. He has since planned a remarkable series on the history of civilization, known as *The Evolution of Humanity*. Another French historian, chiefly interested in economic and social history, Georges Renard, produced a somewhat smaller series on *The Universal History of Labor*, probably the best general economic history ever projected. The English series on *The History of Civilization*, edited by C. K. Ogden, of which the books listed above constitute the first seven volumes, is even more ambitious, as it combines the *Evolution of Humanity* and the *Universal History of Labor* with a large number of other volumes planned to round out the series more thoroughly and to make a more complete record of the history of human civilization. The English series will run to over two hundred volumes, and constitutes veritably an epoch in the history of history itself. It is the most ambitious and important historical project ever undertaken from the standpoint of the soci-

ologist, and the most impressive and extensive from any viewpoint, with the sole exception of Professor J. T. Shotwell's voluminous series on the *Economic and Social History of the War*, to be published in some three hundred volumes under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment.

While the English set is thus far more comprehensive than the French project, the same general plan runs through it all as existed in the mind of Henri Berr when working out the dominating concepts of *The Evolution of Humanity*. Hence we may quote briefly from his general introduction as to the dominating conceptions which have governed the planning of the volumes:

It will have a real unity: not merely the unity of its subject—history in its entirety—but unity of plan, firmly binding together all the various parts; and also unity of the activating ideas. The problem with which we are faced is how to prevent incoherence and yet to avoid the opposite error of over-systematization. In the present state of our knowledge, a single individual cannot accomplish this task alone, and even to organize it he must exercise very great discretion. Certain ideas will run through the whole enterprise, but they will not be dominating theories thrust upon the collaborators, and through them, upon the facts; rather will they be experimental ideas, hypotheses pervading the whole work, and subjected to the control of actual facts by unfettered investigation, allowing complete autonomy to the collaborators. Our undertaking is thus something in the nature of a vast experiment, to be gradually undertaken under the eyes of the public to the great profit, as we hope, of historical science; and the ideas put forward will emerge from the test either confirmed or rectified.

Within this unity of the whole each part will have its own unity. The series has not been planned in terms of large collective volumes, grouping together more or less unconnected chapters written by various collaborators, but as independent volumes of moderate size. The number of these will, therefore, be considerable, since they will correspond to the great problems and the organic divisions of history; and each, as far as this is possible, will be entrusted to a single scholar of recognized authority. Each will be an independent work, will carry the imprint of one personality, and will be the more interesting in that it will have been written with greater freedom and pleasure. Each volume will have its own life; so too will a given group of volumes, and they will thus, from different view-points, form a whole within a whole, partial syntheses within a total synthesis. Our task, in short, is to combine the advantages of an historical encyclopedia with those of a continuous history of human evolution. . . .

To unite Science and Life: such is the formula which expresses the ideal we desire to attain. . . .

From the standpoint of scholarship, then, our understanding will at once mark achievement and provide a point of departure for work still to be done. . . .

But the aim of the series is not merely to be erudite: it is also to be scientific in the full sense of that term. Scholarship may enable us to prepare and assemble materials: it is science alone, however, that brings order into them. . . .

Without claiming that the method of scientific synthesis can actually be fixed for history in any definite fashion it may be assumed—at least, as a tentative hypothesis—that the facts of which human evolution is woven, can be grouped in three quite distinct orders. The first are the contingent, the second the necessary, and the third those that relate to some inner logic. We shall try to make use of and to harmonize the various diverse explanations that have been attempted, by endeavoring to show that the whole content of human evolution falls into these general divisions of contingency, necessity and logic. It seems to us that by this tripartite division, history received both its natural articulation and its whole explanation. Indeed, this classification opens up a deeper view of causality. It invites us to probe into the mass of historical facts and to attempt to disentangle three kinds of causal relations: mere succession, where the facts are simply determined by others: relations that are constant, where the facts are linked to others by necessity: and internal linkage, where the facts are rationally connected with others. On this view of the nature of the causes operating in history, a synthesis may not appear easy, but it is at least conceivable. . . .

In fine, to unravel the complicated skein of causality: to distinguish the "accidental" or the "crude facts" of history, the institutions or the social necessities, the needs or the fundamental causes that flower in the form of ideas within reflective thought: to study the play of these diverse elements—contingent, necessary and logical—their reciprocal action and what may be called the rearrangement of causes: this should constitute the essential object of this synthesis. . . .

Although profoundly scientific in intention this series will not, for that reason, be any the less alive. It has been supposed, quite erroneously, that the introduction of science into history is opposed to life, that the resurrection of the past is the privilege of art. It is analysis which reduces the past to a dust-heap of facts; what erudition collects is saved not from death but from oblivion. Synthesis resurrects the past, otherwise than does intuition, and better. Its task as defined by Michelet, "the resurrection of the whole of life not merely in its surface aspects but in its inner and deeper organisms," cannot be fulfilled by genius; but science can accomplish it by deepening its theory of causality and endeavoring, through its synthesis, to reconstitute the interplay of causes.

It is this purpose, then, that animates our work: to render intelligible by the study of its causes, and to enable us to follow that progressive movement—not continuously and absolutely progressive, but as a whole and

from certain points of view—which gives meaning to the life of humanity. . . .

Our enterprise may thus be of great value to further decisive progress in the study of human evolution. Its object is the proper arrangement of labour and the elaboration of a true scientific method with the purpose of initiating the public into the more serious and engrossing aspects of history as a whole. In the natural sciences, laboratory research, however technical and ungrateful it may be, always results in theories or in a practical outcome to which the public cannot remain indifferent: and, for that reason, there is abundance of encouragement for those who cultivate these fields. On the other hand, because of its over-erudite and insufficiently scientific character, history as presented by learned historians has become an arid speciality, in which the public manifests no interest—accepting in their place anecdotal and romantic works put together by clever popularizers in the guise of true history.

Thanks to the eminent collaborators who have co-operated in this undertaking, things may perhaps be changed for the better. Our programme is vast and our ambition must appear to many over-sanguine. But we must take the risk. It is obvious that a desire for action, a confidence in the spontaneous forces of life have been revived amongst us. There would be a disquieting side to this if, as some tell us, it has taken an anti-intellectualistic turn. It is essential that this need for action, this revival, should also manifest itself in intellectual courage. Life expands with knowledge. And an historic science understood in a living manner—the consciousness of humanity springing from reflection is necessary to direct the tumultuous powers of instinct.

Only the volumes on "prehistory," oriental antiquity, classical times, and the Middle Ages have yet been announced, but even here we can envisage the great value of the series for every aspect of historical sociology. The volumes on "prehistory" cover such important subjects as the social organization of primitive peoples, the passages from "tribe to empire," the geographical basis of history, race and history, the diffusion of culture, woman's place in primitive society, cycles in history, prehistoric archeology, and the origins of language. From the beginning of the "historic" period provision is made for the description and analysis of the growth of every phase of culture and institutions. The thoroughness of the treatment increases with the recency of the period covered, there being about as many volumes assigned to the Middle Ages as to the prehistoric period, oriental antiquity, and the classical age combined. The editor states that the number of volumes on the period since the seventeenth century will be approximately equal

to those of the time prior to this date. The scope of the series is admirable, not only with respect to the range of subjects covered, but also with regard to the area encompassed. For example, in addition to the thorough treatment of Roman society, there are no less than nine volumes devoted to the history of the world outside the Roman Empire during this period; and in the medieval and early modern periods there are a number of volumes on Oriental history and the influence of the East on Western Europe. In the medieval period, where the series becomes fully expansive there are not only a number of volumes on the various fields of social, economic, political, juristic, artistic, intellectual and scientific development, but also competent histories of such special subjects as money, costume, witchcraft and medicine. All in all, there is every indication that the historical sociologist will here find ample information of a highly reliable type on every subject which might legitimately enlist his curiosity or attention. Further, by a judicious selection of the volumes, the sociologist may secure an admirable sequential account of social evolution, literally and specifically considered. When the series is completed even the psychological sociologist may well cast envious eyes at his colleagues interested in social genesis.

The seven volumes which have thus far appeared are of far less interest to the sociologist than the next batch just announced for early publication. Only those by Rivers and DeMorgan are of primary relevance for historical sociology. Rivers' work, like his earlier *Kinship and Social Organization*, is about mid-way between the older views of Morgan and the strictly critical analysis of social organization to be found in the works of Lowie and Goldenweiser. He defends Morgan in many cases, but wisely more on the subjects of group-marriage and relationship systems than on the clan-gens succession and the uniformity and universality of institutional evolution. Rivers' theoretical position as to cultural growth and development remains that of the discriminating diffusionist. His volume seems to the writer much less valuable and satisfactory than Lowie's *Primitive Society*. De Morgan's volume, while by no means as authoritative and thorough as MacCurdy's recent *Human Origins*, is the most compact, up-to-date and readable book

on the preliterate period in any language. It has the special advantage of bringing in a large amount of information based on Oriental archeology. This is probably the most original and valuable aspect of the work. De Morgan has spent years in Oriental excavation and is an expert on this area. As most students of prehistoric archeology have devoted themselves primarily to the Western European area it is interesting and important to have this orientation and absorption supplemented and balanced by the discoveries and information of a scholar who has specialized on the Near East. In his treatment of Oriental origins De Morgan apparently has little bias in favor of the priority or ascendancy of any particular country. The book is logically organized about the evolution of primitive industries from the eolithic period to the iron age, the daily life of prehistoric man, and intellectual and artistic, including religious, development. The only serious weakness is the absence of any adequate discussion of the chronology of the preliterate age.

Parker's work gives a connected account of Tartar history and of the relation of the Tartars to other peoples. Perrier provides an excellent survey of the development of the earth, and especially of the growth of organic life on the planet before the appearance of man. It is, in other words, an excellent presentation of the biological background of, and threshold to, history. Vendryes divides his survey of linguistic origins into a treatment of sounds, grammar, vocabulary, the structure of language, and the origins of writing. It serves its purpose as a "linguistic introduction to history" particularly well through its emphasis on the social and psychological basis of the origins and growth of language. The book lacks, however, some of the subtlety and philosophic grasp of Edward Sapir's classic work. Dr. Fox's book is a detailed monograph on "the social organization, magic and religion of the people of San Cristoval in the Solomon Islands." It ranks with such works as Rivers' book on the Todas or Seligmann's on the Veddas. It would have been far more useful if, instead of a specialized work on a small group in a limited area, this volume had been a general survey of the ethnography of the Pacific area. Labriolle's book comes the nearest of the seven to meeting a need which is not satisfactorily served by any other existing

book, Krüger's *Early Christian Literature* being brief and out of date, and Bardenhewer's *Patrology* being little more than an encyclopedic collection of names, dates and titles.

Four more volumes are announced for immediate publication. These are J. L. Myres' work on *Woman's Place in Simple Societies*; L. Febvre's *Geographical Introduction to History*; G. Renard's *Life and Labour in Europe from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century*; and P. Boissonade's *Life and Labour in the Middle Ages*. Being familiar with these volumes in the French the reviewer is able to state that they will possess far greater value for the historical sociologist than the first seven volumes.

PRINCIPLES OF VITAL STATISTICS. By I. S. Falk. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1923, 258 pp. \$2.50.

STUDIES IN HUMAN BIOLOGY. By Raymond Pearl. Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Co., 1924, 653 pp. \$8.00.

FERTILITY AND STERILITY IN HUMAN MARRIAGES. By Edward Reynolds and Donald Macomber. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1924, 285 pp. \$5.00.

As in all matters related to life there seems to be in scientific literature a flow and ebb of emphasis and interest. Twenty to twenty-five years ago there was a large output of studies relating to Eugenics and National Deterioration. After a period of recession into the background a similar interest has been revived by the war. Now we see a recrudescence of the theories of racial purity and superiority which were to the fore in the 80's and 90's; also a renewed interest in problems of population growth as shown in the publication of such works as those by East, Carr-Saunders, Reuter and others. The above titles connect with still other phases of this reviving interest in the vital aspects of human society. Falk's work is a study of health, of birth, sickness and death, while Pearl's is a collection of original studies of a considerable number of problems in population, vital statistics and human physiology, and that by Reynolds and Macomber is an original and illuminating contribution to what has heretofore been the very obscure problem of human sterility.

The work by Falk is confessedly a text-book designed, as Professor C. E. A. Winslow informs us in the "Foreword," for use in courses for public health nurses and similar types of students

who have little interest in method and theory and much in the results of vital statistics. It is not, therefore, to be compared to the great work by Newsholme, nor even the less pretentious work by Whipple. It is, however, a very interesting compilation and will serve effectively the needs of a growing audience for a clear and illuminating presentation. The tables and charts are exceptionally well chosen. There is a commendable innovation in the unusual amount of attention given to Morbidity (Chaps. V and VI, pp. 92-143). In harmony with its purpose, most of the data relate to the United States.

Since the work makes no pretense to theoretical interest, it need not be criticised from this aspect. In the "Preface" the author excuses all reference to the hereditary aspect of morbidity and mortality partly on the ground that this field is highly controversial and partly because the first seven chapters of Pearl's "Biology of Death" treat these problems "in an admirable and splendidly readable manner." This is a very weak excuse. It is also inconsistent. If the field is controversial, why refer solely to Pearl, who is the outstanding advocate of the importance of heredity? There is no doubt in the mind of the reviewer that public health nurses would profit enormously by reading Pearl—they will learn more that is of theoretical value than in reading Falk; but the mischief in the situation arises from the fact that so few will ever take a serious look at the former and will thus go blithely on their simple-minded way, assuming that the saving of any and all infants, e.g. is necessarily socially constructive. At the very least, some reference should have been made to the selective action of infant mortality as studied by Snow and Pearson. Then there is the study by Greenwood and Brown, which Pearl ("Medical Biometry and Statistics," p. 159) describes as "the most thoroughly sound, critical and penetrating contribution which has yet been made to the problem of infant mortality," but which failed to demonstrate any unambiguous association between poverty and the death-rate of infants."

Pearl's new book is a much needed collection of papers published during the past twenty years in numerous journals. There are twenty-five such, classified under four headings: I. "Considering Man as an Animal"; II. "Biological Aspects of Vital Statistics"; III. "Public Health

and Epidemiology"; and IV. "The Population Problem." Only a few points of major sociological interest can here be noted.

In a study of the relation of size of head to intelligence Pearl reaches the tentative conclusion that there is a slight correlation, far too small to warrant any assumption whatever in individual cases. The critic cannot consider this study of much current value for it is based on German data with no control over the test of intelligence. In view of the development of new methods of testing intelligence such a study might easily be repeated.

Nor can much reliance be placed on the following study which finds a slight correlation between "race" crossing and the tendency to produce males. The data are derived from Buenos Ayres and permit the comparison of marriages of Argentinians, Italians and Spaniards within and across nationality lines. But the study suffers from the serious fault of identifying race and nationality. There is no indication, for example, that the Argentinians may not have been of either Spanish or Italian blood, nor that both Italian and Spanish may not have been of Mediterranean stock. It is impossible, therefore, to know whether and to what extent there was actual *race* crossing. This defect in the data is not taken into account, although in a later study (p. 181) the author emphasizes exactly the same deficiency of data with respect to the United States, only to imply a reversal of this attitude on the following page.

The study of the reproductive efficiencies of various types of intra- and inter-nationality marriages (pp. 182-205), is an example of remarkable ingenuity in the manipulation of statistical data. In fact, the study of the comparative "Vitality" of the various nationality elements and of the different states is one of the most notable contributions ever made to American vital statistics. Like all of Pearl's work, however, it betrays occasionally a dogmatic cock-sureness, frequently on points not material to the investigation at hand, which lowers somewhat the general tone, in spite of the author's undoubted scientific candor. Thus on p. 181 he reiterates the popular dogma that the Jews are "by all odds the biologically purest of all civilized races." If one lump together Jews of every type, they are obviously much more variable than the British population, the Swedes,

or the "Old Americans" (Hrdlicka). His strong inclination to the view that recent immigrants have superior innate constitutions because they are of the pioneer type does not accord well with numerous studies of methods and causes of immigration in the decade preceding the war nor with the study by Dublin and Baker on "The Mortality of Race Stocks in Pennsylvania and New York." (Quart. Pubs. Amer. Stat. Assn., March, 1920).

Certain studies have an important bearing on the significance of inherent constitutional vigor for such social problems as infant mortality, tuberculosis, influenza, and public health activities. The general position taken by Pearl is similar to that of Pearson, namely, that too many of our social problems are being attacked in a superficial manner, with too exclusive attention to their surface relationships and too much emphasis on temporary alleviation, because the maintenance or improvement of the organic soundness of the racial stock is essential to permanent success. Such painstaking investigations as are here collected outweigh in scientific value mountains of solemn moralizing, pious exhortation, or complacent sentimentality.

In Part IV the most interesting studies deal with "Biology and War" and "The Curve of Population Growth." In the former, Professor Pearl very properly takes exception to the widely cultivated opinion that war is nowadays necessarily destructive of the biologically best. The matter is, of course, not soluble in its entirety at present. There seems good evidence for supposing that the Napoleonic wars reduced the stature of the French, but this may have been due to racial selection of which war was the temporary agent. The enormous losses of life in the civil populations of Europe, 1914 to 1920 and after, on the other hand, raise a presumption that a long war, now involving as it does the whole population of all ages and both sexes, may be highly purgative in its effects.

The now well-popularized curves of population growth are interesting but not very useful mathematical achievements. They tell us something about what will happen, provided conditions remain the same. But will they?

Since the classical studies of Duncan in 1866 (Fecundity, Fertility, Sterility and Allied Topics) and 1883 (Sterility in Women) little has been added to our knowledge of the frequency of sterile

unions or their causes which has found its way into general treatises. The study by Reynolds and Macomber, together with the included chapters by Dr. Young on "The Determining Causes of Male Sterility," summarizes extant knowledge. It may be noted in the first place that the frequency of sterile marriages is still not established with a high degree of mathematical accuracy, but that the 10 per cent estimate of Duncan still represents the best approximation. After an exposition of the physiological mechanism of fecundation there are sections on female and male sterility followed in section four by "Relative Infertility, The Marital Habit, and The Prevention of Sterility," and in section five by "The Clinical Conduct of a Case." Space does not permit a summary here. Suffice it to say that, though the volume is intended primarily for the medical profession, it contains much biological and demographical material of interest to the student of population.

The work of Carr-Saunders made it certain that advanced civilized peoples have a higher natural or potential fecundity than primitives. Nevertheless, the sterilization of the upper classes is a phenomenon of all advanced cultures. That this is primarily due to contra-ceptive measures cannot be doubted. Our authors give a surprising number of ways in which the mere mechanisms of fertility may fail but they also give considerable evidence that the decline in the birth rate may be due in part to subtle dietary changes and that these affect the upper classes more extensively than the lower. They conducted an elaborate set of experiments on rats in which it was shown that diet, through alteration of vitamins and amino-acids, may affect the capacity to produce gametes with or without noticeable effect on health. These and other experiments proved that the infertility of a mating must be differentiated from that of the two individuals involved, as each of the latter may be fertile in a different union. Moreover, and this is of the greatest significance, "the fertility of either an individual or a mating may vary in any degree between full fertility and absolute sterility." (P. 162).

The authors also attribute variations in fertility to the amount of out-door exercise and nervous strain as well as to such abnormal conditions as

tuberculosis, anemia and endocrine disturbances. This study as a whole is a valuable contribution to a still obscure aspect of vital statistics.

F. H. HANKINS.

Smith College.

OUTLINES OF INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY: A TEXTBOOK OF READINGS IN SOCIAL SCIENCE. By Clarence Marsh Case. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1924, xxxvi, 980 pp. \$3.75.

To write a textbook in physics or chemistry, or even biology, is, comparatively an easy task, for the obvious reason that physicists, chemists and biologists are generally agreed upon their fundamental aims, methods and principles. But sociologists, so far from being in agreement upon such essentials, are still engaged in puerile, though nonetheless pompous, disputation anent the whys and wherefores of nomenclature. From Small and Vincent, through Dealey and Ward, Blackmar and Gillin, Hayes et al, to Park and Burgess, sociological textbooks have reflected, along with certain other things, this regrettable state of affairs. With the single exception of W. I. Thomas' *Source Book for Social Origins*, sociological texts have been, since paper is often manufactured from wood-pulp, notoriously inimical to the conservation of natural resources. If written under the spell of some one "theory of society," they have invariably manifested the absurdities consequent upon stretching an intellectual pattern farther than even its maker intended it to go. If the text is eclectic and synthetic, the materials, under the pressing academic necessity of getting something published, no matter what, have usually been fused into a gelatinous mass of piffle, dotted with exclamation points and sputtering with lachrymose humanitarianism. Where the materials are unfused, the compilers have either concentrated upon one or two of the main subdivisions of the field of sociology, to the total exclusion of topics equally important, or they have displayed incredible dexterity in selecting the wrong "readings" and in omitting the most valuable contributions of the latest research. For many years there has been a crying need for a textbook in sociology which, avoiding these and other errors of the past, should deal not with "instincts," "social organisms," "mechanisms," "social minds" and other meta-

physical monstrosities of an intellectual fourth-dimension, but with those observable and measurable activities of actual human beings which Herbert Spencer long ago characterized as "super-organic" and which contemporary ethnologists name "culture."

Professor Case has written that textbook. This, upon reflection, is an inaccurate statement. Professor Case has, in about 950 pages, drawn together, under illuminating topics and sub-topics, a large number of discriminatingly selected "readings" and riveted them into a coherent unity by a series of lucid prefaces and interpolations covering hardly eighty-five pages. This is not meant as adverse criticism. Quite the contrary. Verbosity is not unknown in the study of human society, and that a certified sociologist should voluntarily limit himself to eighty-five out of 950 pages is itself a remarkable achievement. Into those eighty-five pages, Professor Case has packed the quintessence of what is at present scientifically most acceptable regarding social evolution, social origins, social processes and social problems. These are the four main divisions of the book, and the materials in each have been assembled and expounded with the avowed purpose of meeting actual class-room requirements in introductory sociology.

The general introduction is a masterpiece worthy of special consideration. The author scrupulously avoids the usual asininities of defining human society and sociology in abstract terms and of elaborating mechanically rigid classifications of the sciences, which serve only to confuse and antagonize the student. With unprecedented straightforwardness and clarity, he gives a brief, common-sense statement of the nature, aims and general methods of science, and then passes swiftly to the applaudable pronouncement that the distinctive subject-matter of social science is culture, which must be studied and analyzed, not from the standpoint of physics, biology or psychology, but "on its own ground and in its own terms." Here, at last, is the belated sociological appropriation for textbook purposes of the culture concept of the critical ethnologists, and the unequivocal adoption of the "cultural approach" to sociology. Professor Case has added nothing new to the culture concept; he has bodily taken over the analyses and formulations of Boas,

Goldenweiser, Lowie, Kroeber and Wissler. But he has not allowed his recognition of the importance of objective culture to blind him to the need of psychological interpretations. Sociology, indeed, in the author's view, must justify its existence by bringing together, "under a single category," social psychology, or, in the usage of Kroeber and Thomas, the abstract analysis of the subjective side of society, and culture-history, which deals with the objective side by the historical, depictive method.

The section on Social Evolution, Part I, makes other textbook treatments of the same topic superfluous. There is no fatuous and futile reiteration of specious "laws of social evolution." The author frankly agrees with the critical ethnologists that the laws of social evolution, if any, are not known, and that the only scientifically demonstrated principle in the growth and diversification of culture is the principle of "pure historical accident." This is the well-known cultural explanation of culture-growth. But Professor Case has forestalled Allportian criticism by treating culture, not as an entity separate from human beings, but as the outward and objective side of behavior, which has its subjective counterpart in "personal attitudes." The readings in Part I, together with Professor Case's preface and comments, constitute the best introductory exposition of social evolution that has yet appeared.

With the addition of several chapters on "The Stages of Culture and the Origins and Dispersion of Races," Part II, Social Origins, covers, from the same general point of view, the ground more intensively cultivated by W. I. Thomas in his classic *Source Book*. Professor Case's section has the advantage of brevity and of including several excellent excerpts from Boas, Goldenweiser and Lowie, not available when Thomas' work was published.

One shudders automatically on reaching Part III, with its caption "Social Processes." For in this compartment one usually finds the most dangerous and elusive of all sociological monsters. But even among the "processes," Professor Case has retained his sanity and poise and his firm grip upon the culture concept. We are straightforwardly informed at the outset that a social process is "simply any characteristic social change," "any kind of a 'going on' in society

... not unique and isolated" (p. 415). With our fears allayed, we pass blithely through clear-cut expository passages and clarifying readings on population growth, socialization, cultural diffusion, the creation of social values, social opposition, stratification, equalization, coöperation, organization and expansion. It is the same area traversed by Park and Burgess in the *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*. But what Park and Burgess required a thousand pages to accomplish, Professor Case has done better in two hundred.

In the fourth and final section, Professor Case has made the cultural approach to "social problems." This is a real achievement. Not once does the author display the sob-impulse or the uplift-urge. A social problem, in his view, is "a social situation which attracts the attention of a considerable number of competent observers within a society and appeals to them as calling for readjustment or remedy by social, i.e., collective, action of some kind or other" (p. 627). A social problem, therefore, is a socio-psychological fact, culturally determined, and has no meaning apart from its cultural milieu, that is, apart from the social values of a given culture-group. From this salutary point of view, the author goes on to deal, under the usual subheads, with problems of physical environment, problems of population, problems of social organization and problems of social idealism. By those who have grown weary of the ecclesiastical attitude in sociology, Part IV will be read with rejoicing.

The specific contributions of the book as a whole are its brevity, lucidity and concreteness, rare, but superlative, virtues in an introductory text; its discriminating selection of interest-compelling, authoritative and up-to-date readings; its scrupulous avoidance of futile terminological controversies and of confusing expositions of intricate methodologies, statistical and psychological; and finally, most significant of all, its insistence, from beginning to end, upon the importance of the culture concept in sociology. This last named contribution is, alone, sufficient *raison d'être*.

Professor Case's *Outlines* must be judged, if fairly judged, by his avowed purpose to meet class-room requirements in introductory sociology. From that angle, the book is so uniformly

excellent, in viewpoint and content, that criticism of the few minor defects of selection and arrangement seems offensively meticulous. One might wonder, for example, in the chapter on "Race and Culture," why, with such illuminating passages available in the works of Kroeber, Lowie, Boas and Wissler, Professor Case elected to becloud the issue with several pages of pompous nonsense by Robert E. Park. Or, again, in the chapter on "Sub-Social Processes," why he should have marred half a dozen valuable pages with the glib, unwarranted generalizations of Professor E. A. Ross. But these and a few other relatively insignificant imperfections should not be allowed to lessen the praise which Professor Case's textbook so richly deserves.

To phrase succinctly the gist of the matter, the *Outlines of Introductory Sociology* is incomparably superior to any work of its kind now in existence. If it is not forthwith substituted for the inferior introductory texts at present in use throughout the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave, it will be because too many sociologists prefer to gaze bovinely upon human society through the mists of nineteenth-century metaphysics and the nauseating miasma of uplift-Pollyannaism.

RUSSELL GORDON SMITH.

Columbia University.

ASPECTS OF SOCIETY. By R. T. Evans. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1923, vii, 202 pp. \$1.25.

PROBLEMS OF CITIZENSHIP. By H. Baker-Crothers and Ruth A. Hudnut. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1924, xiv, 414 pp.

During the past decade there has been a great deal of experimentation in introductory courses in the social sciences. In a general way it may be said that the effort to establish a broad type of orientation course useful to all students planning further work in economics, politics or sociology has succeeded. But there is still a vast difference in the method and content of such courses. Columbia introduces the student to a very wide range of philosophical, historical, social and scientific problems. Dartmouth centers on certain major social questions of the day. Amherst, Smith and numerous others present a survey of the evolution of fundamental institutions from pre-history to the present. Opinion will differ

as to which is preferable, and in any case the type of course of most value must vary with the interests and qualifications of instructors in charge. Some instructors are most effective as lecturers; others can use the discussion method with great skill.

Of the above books the second gives the material used in a freshman course at Dartmouth. After a brief study of "The Nation's Ideals," the following problems are taken up: The Newspaper, Immigration, The Negro, Feminism (evidently written by an ardent feminist), Civil Liberty, International Relations, War and Peace. No one need quarrel with this list; it would be difficult to substitute other "problems" equally significant. Certainly the devotion of an early part to an analysis of the way news is gathered and presented, the role of the advertiser, the significance of partisanship, the tests of the news, and how to read the daily paper is a fine introduction to the later problems. Nor can one quarrel much with the treatment. It is too much saturated with democratic and humanitarian idealisms to suit many, but "soft stuff" doesn't go very far in men's colleges today. The chapters are too full of concrete data and historical fact. There appears to be very little approach to the Socratic method. There is here a vast danger of teaching information rather than discriminating thought. All depends on the manner of instruction. Which is worse, facts so numerous that clear thinking is choked, or theorizing so abstract that facts are neglected?

One notes lacunae in both fact and theory, but any live teacher will use such a book merely as a guide. There are bibliographies for each problem at the back, but no indication of the readings actually required. Moreover, would not lists of leading questions at the close of the chapters add materially to the usefulness of the book for the average instructor? Likewise the sources of materials used in the book itself might well be more frequently indicated. These implied criticisms lose much of their force in view of the fact that the references at the end are well sprinkled with periodical literature. Such articles, while more difficult to supply in quantity for a large class, are more likely to be read, to be pithy and controversial or argumentative and hence to stir the student mind. If this book is to be the sole

source of materials, and if it is used by instructors who do not relish discussion and an expression of student objections and differences, then it should prove dreadfully dull to the average freshman who has no special reason for being interested in Chinese immigrants, negro tenant farmers or Susan B. Anthony. By class arguments, special reports and individualized work his interest may, however, be aroused and his understanding matured.

The little book by Evans represents a somewhat different type of introduction to social science. It makes no pretensions to completeness either as a treatise or textbook. It is in fact merely the summary of talks given by a professor at University College, Cardiff, South Wales, to miners and school teachers. It also discusses certain "problems" but problems of wider import than most of those treated by Baker-Crothers. Chapter headings include: The Scope and Method of Sociology; The Evolution of Society; The Psychology of Social Life; Racial Factor in History; Nationality; The Economic Organization of Society; Population; The Economic Basis of Social Well-Being; The Political Organization of Society. The author shows wide scholarship and a candid mind. One will search long for a better treatment of these topics in such brief space. While not suitable in itself as a text the volume is admirably adapted for reference use and should prove valuable in extension courses and for general reading by the lay public.

F. H. HANKINS.

Smith College.

ROADS TO SOCIAL PEACE. By Edward Alsworth Ross. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1924, 133 pp. \$1.50.

This book is fairly typical of the sermonizing, evangelistic type of sociology that is tending to crowd out solid, comprehensive analysis. It is based on the old principle that "the wish is father to the thought." Social peace is a good thing, therefore there must be ways to it, and it is for the moralist to find the ways,—a whole network of them if possible!

Dr. Ross undertakes to show how to mitigate conflict between sections, sects, nationalities, classes, and districts, but feels himself unequal

to the task of allaying race conflict. No adequate attention is given to the question whether all these species of conflict may not in the main be manifestations of a general, underlying basis of social struggle. The problems are envisaged as problems rather than as phases of a problem, just as a certain type of physician might treat pimples, coated tongue, bad breath, gas in the stomach, and heartburn as health problems, without reference to any possible inclusion of these symptoms in a larger and more significant category. It may, of course, be that the conflicts mentioned in the book are distinct problems, but certainly such a conclusion ought not to be taken for granted as a basis of treatment without considerable explicit investigation. The reader is entitled to wonder whether sociology has not some unifying principle capable of serving at least as a background for the preachment.

The proposals set forth by the author are all of the casual, common-sense sort that would be agreed to by everybody that did not have something at stake in the particular issue. The presumption that they can be made generally acceptable by preaching is based on the idea that there is a large mass of people interested in the general welfare of society, so much interested in fact, that they will subordinate class and partisan interests if the appeal to reason can be made tellingly enough. Thus we are told that "neither churches nor groups formed on a religious basis should endeavor secretly to control political parties, nominations, elections, appointments, or public policies." News items about vice and crime "should not indicate the group membership of the culprit unless his group is making an effort to shield him from exposure or punishment." Local merchants and bankers would do well to detach themselves a little from the artful propaganda and emissaries sent out to them from the cities appealing to their class consciousness as business men. . . . There are some weightier offerings than these, but the book would be impossible save on the basis of such ingenuous proposals.

The treatment of "the class struggle" may be used as a touchstone of the whole matter, for there is a reason to suppose that this conflict comes nearest to being the fundamental disturber

of social peace. If the race conflict looks more insoluble, it can only be, as the author implies, because race provides an indelible uniform for battle. Dr. Ross would mitigate class conflict by social legislation, restriction of immigration, arbitration, successful trade unionism, works councils, freedom of expression. How individualistic is his outlook may be seen in his final proposal that—

Every effort should be made by the improvement of publication, the multiplication of scholarships, vocational guidance and access to credit to provide staircases for ascent from one economic level to another and to prevent the wielding of industrial power from becoming a matter of inheritance.

As if opportunity for the exceptional individual were a worthy solution of social stratification!

Dr. Ross represents in substance, if not in detail, the United States of 1890. His attitude on current issues is a grand manifestation of the "cultural lag." The present work suffers from the additional weakness of an effort for picturesqueness, an effort more labored and less effective than could be desired. Withal the reader's mind is drawn back to the social pacifists of old who cried "Peace! Peace!" where there was no peace. His recommendations if taken seriously might reduce in a minor degree some of the more trivial annoyances that embitter society, but on the whole the world will plunge ahead toward graver conflicts without being at all stayed in its course by an interest in "Roads to Social Peace." A more sociological work will be necessary for the treatment of the issue.

ARTHUR W. CALHOUN.

Brookwood College.

SOCIAL CONTROL OF THE FEEBLEMINDED. By Stanley P. Davies. New York: National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 1923, 221 pp. \$1.25.

In the reviewer's judgment this study is the best short treatment of the problem of feeble-mindedness which has appeared in this country. It not only traces the history of the care of the feeble-minded, but also shows how the methods used and policies advocated have been dependent upon the growth of our knowledge of the causes and types of feeble-mindedness. The study will be welcomed by sociologists who have not specialized in this field for it brings information up to date, and it

serves as a wholesome corrective to the radical claims of some of the less careful eugenists and intelligence testers.

Dr. Davies has brought to this study experience gained from several years' work as Executive Secretary of the Committee on Mental Hygiene of the New York State Charities Aid Association. The study is the result of first hand investigation of methods used in this country as well as of wide reading.

In introducing the subject Dr. Davies points out certain difficulties of definition. He shows that psychologists do not agree upon the dividing line between normal intelligence and mental defect; that both social and psychological criteria for feeble-mindedness are needed because the intelligence tests do not measure some of the most important aspects of mental defect; and that the results of the army tests have discredited the earlier psychological definitions of feeble-mindedness. To accept the earlier definitions of feeble-mindedness and the earlier program of permanent custodial care for all feeble-minded would entail an impossible and unnecessary burden upon the states. Even Hollingsworth's conservative estimate that two percent of the population are feeble-minded would mean 200,000 in New York State as against 6,000 now in institutions.

Failure of early attempts to educate the feeble-minded and the very slight success of Seguin's efforts with physiological methods early led to the demand for permanent custodial care of the feeble-minded and to the establishment of the first institutions for this purpose in this country. With the opening of the twentieth century came the eugenics movement and the beginnings of the Binet-Simon method of intelligence testing. The publication of the widely known studies of the Jukes, Kallikaks and others, Goddard's conclusion that feeble-mindedness is a Mendelian recessive, and Davenport's declaration that two mentally defective parents will produce only mentally defective offspring, put the emphasis firmly upon the hereditary aspect of the problem and showed the importance of the moron and borderline types.

Further study seemed to show the association with feeble-mindedness of a long list of other evils. Thus inebriety, immorality, criminality of adults and juveniles, venereal disease and other aspects of degeneracy were found to predominate among families of feeble-minded folk which were studied.

This led Dr. Fernald, who has since modified his views, to demand the segregation of the feeble-minded especially of women of child-bearing age. Wide publicity given to these startling facts resulted in an alarmist stage when extreme measures were advocated for the eradication of the evil. Saner minds urged life segregation with sterilization in extreme cases. As a result fifteen states passed sterilization laws but nine of which have retained them. Comparatively few actual operations were performed except in two states, however, for four reasons: the general public were opposed; the difficulty of exact diagnosis was recognized; some with less reason feared the spread of immorality; and finally new light had been shed upon the relationship between mental defect and heredity.

The alarmist stage is passing, and the emphasis upon heredity has been much modified for several reasons:

- (1). Later studies of the families of the feeble-minded have not yielded the Mendelian ratio.
- (2). The defect is probably due to a number of factors when it is hereditary.
- (3). "Good" and "bad" types of feeble-minded have been distinguished.
- (4). The Jukes were found to improve when they went to a more favorable environment.
- (5). Some early studies were found not to be representative.
- (6). Much feeble-mindedness has been found to be due to influences during gestation and to the secretions of the endocrine glands.
- (7). Other personality traits were found to influence the scores on the intelligence tests.
- (8). Probably less than half the feeble-minded at large are such because of heredity.

These recent developments account in part for change in policy in certain advanced institutions—notably at Waverley, Mass., and Rome, New York. Dr. Davies describes at length methods in use at these and other institutions, and concludes that colony care and parole have on the whole proven successful when administered by those who know how to train and select those who are capable of profiting by greater freedom. It has been shown that many feeble-minded may be trained for useful work; that they unlearn good habits as slowly as they learn new ones; and that the extreme ostracism of the past has been largely a mistake. Leadership, says Dr. Davies, will largely determine whether the higher grade feeble-

mined will be assets or liabilities to the community. Yet feeble-mindedness itself is as incurable to-day as it was in the days of Seguin's experiment.

Possibly Dr. Davies is a bit too optimistic as to the future. Some would put more faith than he in the use of eugenic measures. Yet he is undoubtedly right in stressing our present ignorance of heredity. His book is a real contribution. His material is well selected, his analysis is keen, and his style is clear and interesting. He has moreover shown the danger of applying half knowledge to the problem of population. He has shown the virtue of an intelligent ignorance in the application of negative eugenics. One wonders whether similar caution is not advisable in approaching other biological problems.

DONALD R. TAFT.

Wells College.

A DEFINITION OF SOCIAL WORK. By Alice S. Cheyney. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1923. 90 pp. \$1.00.

The author begins with the statement of her reasons for attempting a definition of social work. These, in brief, are: 1. Whenever we talk without agreeing on the meaning of terms we are wasting time and giving unnecessary opportunity for bad blood. 2. While the nature and purpose of a calling are perceived cloudily or not at all it does not manifest the coherence and momentum which inspire constructive work. 3. Social work suffers unnecessarily . . . for disappointing demands which would never have been made were its nature better understood. To avoid these difficulties, Dr. Cheyney casts about for a definition of social work with the necessary qualifications. This search furnishes the motif for Chapter II.

Present day social work viewed in cross section yields nothing and the author tries a squint down the length of the field. This get results. The origin of social work is found in traditional charity "a free gift and a gift to need." From this social work is seen developing as it accumulates knowledge and becomes scientific.

These developments can be simply indicated as (1) a systematization of service; (2) an interest in causes of disaster, and (3) an extension of charitable interest into new fields." (Quoted from O. R. Lovejoy, *Nat. Conf. Soc. Work*, 1919.)

The development of the scientific method is considered in Chapter III, at the close of which the desired definition is forthcoming, tentatively as follows:

Social work includes all voluntary attempts to extend benefits in response to need which are concerned with social relationships and which avail themselves of scientific knowledge and employ scientific methods.

This definition is then squared with the testimony of the national conference utterances (Chap. IV) and with the offerings of the schools of social work operating in 1919 (Chap. V). In Chapter VI, the author answers the critics of social work who are found to be of three sorts,—those who say that "what it does is somewhat unworthy," those who say "it does too much," and those who say "it does too little." In this chapter the writer warms to her task in a style which deserves an adjective no less than brilliant. This chapter alone justifies the entire effort. A perusal of it leads one to surmise that certain implications in the opening statement of the thesis were not really intended. For instance, (p. 77) ". . . the definition we have been using has now been shown to describe a social work that can meet its critics squarely and retain a claim to a function of its own in social economy and a certain character and integrity." And this of a social work which has been struggling along all these years without a definition.

While Dr. Cheyney defends her thesis ably we suspect that the weaknesses and tribulations of social work past and present have been due to other and much more fundamental factors than the absence of an adequate definition. Perhaps we have all been too busy or preoccupied or both to realize that there was none. A real need for one, however would seem to have called one forth long since. Nevertheless, critics of social work would do well to read Chapter VI.

PHILIP ARCHIBALD PARSONS.

Portland School of Social Work.

PRIMITIVE MENTALITY. By Lucien Lévy-Bruhl. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1923. \$5.00.

First almost among our besetting present-day intellectual problems is the one of why men's minds are so. It is for our generation the version of Paracelsus' quest. We have sought it again and

again in neatly-evolved psychological systems, and they have proved on review to be in the main only neat rationalizations. If at last we have grown to doubt the pertinency of our subject matter, surely one of the bodies of material to which we may go next in the pursuit of our problem is that which deals with primitive man. From many points of view it is a rich material as we have anywhere available—a source which reflects back to us something besides that one special and accustomed set of conventions and values which we so often mistake for universal truth.

Professor Lévy-Bruhl has attempted this very thing. But for him the moral points all in one special direction; he has given himself at the outset to the "world of difference that lies between primitive mentality and our own"; a difference summed up in the inability of savages to attain the completely logical motivations, the habits of thought that "proceed by general abstract ideas," the orderly and intelligible notion of things, that we boast in our white civilization. Even in 1910 when Professor Lévy-Bruhl published his first book elaborating this point of view, there were those who felt chagrined at the boast; now after thirteen years that have included the war and "reconstruction," it seems an echo from the complacency of a no-longer-existent world.

The book is entirely untroubled by skepticism as to the rationality of modern behavior. It accumulates great stores of evidence to show the disapprobation and sense of ill-omen that are occasioned in primitive society by uncustomary behavior. It records the fact that in a tribe which traditionally burned its dead, the enforced burial of a child was regarded as ominous. It reinforces the point that a primitive family will strip itself of its possessions to pay the medicine man, and distrusts the white physician. Strangely enough, there is no discussion of warfare; the illogical enthusiasms and the illusory convictions of benefits with which primitive people customarily approach their guerilla warfare pass unnoted. They are too familiar in our own civilization to be "unnatural." The assumption is everywhere implicit that all the acts and beliefs of modern Europeans have been built up from the beginning on a basis of dispassionate investigation and scrupulous logic.

And yet the material gathered in this book is of interest from an almost opposite point of view. It is not the differences between primitive mentality and our own that the citations convey; it is the sameness. The minds of these primitive peoples operate with a different stock of ideas, it is true, and our concepts of the soul, or of success, or of mortality, have therefore a different contour. But the essential difference between them and us is not the difference between perfect logic and the lack of logic. It is our complete familiarity with our own culture which makes all its familiar concepts "natural" and "logical" to us, while those of all other civilizations seem, in the terminology of this book, "prelogical."

The mental exercise of stepping outside his own culture and viewing it alongside all the others in the world, Professor Lévy-Bruhl has not indulged in. He does not see that acceptance of ideas on authority, an intense emotional coloring of the trivial, and a blindness to self-contradiction, are part also of our own mental and cultural processes. But there must be many readers who will be forced by the piled-up evidence of the book to see that these are the universal attributes of man in any and every society; for them the reading will be an instructive lesson in the way their own minds have a habit of working in situations culturally pre-judged.

RUTH BENEDICT.

Columbia University.

YOU GENTILES. By Maurice Samuel. New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1924, 221 pp. \$2.00.

You Gentiles has been called, and will be called, a "courageous" book. It is more than that: it is a defiant book. "Whatever we (Jews) do we are damned—and I would rather be damned standing up than lying down." Mr. Samuel quite emphatically "stands up" for his race; it is not an impartial volume. Here is a statement of the conviction upon which the book is constructed:

Years of observation and thought have given increasing strength to the belief that we Jews stand apart from you Gentiles, that a primal duality breaks the humanity I know into two distinct parts; that this duality is fundamental, and that all differences among you Gentiles are trivialities compared with that which divides all of you from us.

Going on from this thesis, Mr. Samuel goes through the book contrasting Jew and Gentile civilizations. The fundamental distinction between them is not, he writes, one of religion or dogma, manners or customs—it is rather a distinction which begins at the source of morality. Jew and Gentile begin life, as it were, from two far removed points, and life develops for them along parallel lines. The differences, in short, are not reconcilable.

To you life is a game and a gallant adventure, and all men's enterprises partake of the spirit of the adventurous. To us life is a serious and sober duty pointed to a definite and inescapable task . . . to you morality is 'the right thing', to us morality is 'right'.

Are such differences irreconcilable? Are they biological, or merely social structures? Mr. Samuel believes them to be biological. Much of the book, after his thesis is once established, is an exposition and arraignment of the Gentile approach to life as a game. At least once he scores heavily and justly against the Gentile; this is in his attack on the Gentile superstition of "loyalty." The muddy thinking which is characteristic of the average man's loyalty to country, loyalty to college, loyalty to employer; his affection for such clichés as "service," "a square deal," and all that; all this Mr. Samuel justly derides. There is a shrewdness too in his chapter called "Utopia" in which he points to the tendency of the free and intelligent Gentile to turn in his religion from the stern and unchanging Jewish prophets to the idealism of Plato's Republic. The Jew cannot, says Mr. Samuel, adjust himself to the Gentile "sport" morality.

The temptation to quote is irresistible, for his style is lucid and precise:

We take up your life with an anxiousness, a ferocity, which is its own undoing. Whatever in you can be imitated, we do imitate admirably, but though you cannot quite define it, you are aware of a deception. Our patriotisms are hysterical; our sport pursuits are unnaturally eager; our business ambitions are artificially passionate. We seek the same apparent ends as you, but not in the same spirit.

In the chapter on "The Game of Science" one follows Mr. Samuel with less sympathy. Science teaches us that the earth goes around the sun, that certain diseases are due to the action of minute parasites, that there is a structural parallel between man and the beasts, that the earth is ex-

tremely old. Well, asks Mr. Samuel contemptuously, what of it? This is specious argument. A half truth may be more dangerous than a fiction. And when he asks "Have all the revelations of science brought just a single utterance like that of Job?" one is disgusted at his descent into sentimentality and nonsense.

A defiant book, decidedly. It will meet "attack" from many sides. What of the Jews who are trying earnestly to reach a conciliation with the Gentiles? And Gentiles (there are many) attempting conciliation with Jews? The orthodox Gentiles will assail the book as a piece of Jewish propaganda. On the other hand, will the orthodox Jews enjoy the picture of themselves presented here?

CARL A. WILLIAMS.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN FRONTIER, 1763-1893. By Frederic L. Paxson. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924, xvii, 598 pp. \$6.00.

From 1893, when Professor Turner's article on *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* opened up a new field of study, down to the time of the publication of the volume under review, there has been no attempt at a complete synthesis of the westward movement in the United States. Roosevelt's stirring account of the *Winning of the West* had covered only the eastern half of the country, while Winsor and Hinsdale, Ogg, Skinner, Henderson and others have contented themselves with the discussion of the movement in still more limited areas. Another group of writers devoted their energies to the land west of the Mississippi. McElroy sketched in a single volume *The Winning of the Far West*, and H. H. Bancroft told it in detail in 39 volumes. Miss Coman, rather unsatisfactorily, emphasized the *Economic Beginnings of the Far West*. Cardinal Goodwin, in his *Trans-Mississippi West, 1803-1853*, presented a clear-cut narrative which, however, was limited both as to time and area. Paxson himself, in 1905, covered a later half century in his readable book on *The Last American Frontier*.

The most illuminating studies of the westward movement have been the essays of Professor Turner collected under the title *The Frontier in American History*. But these do not constitute either a complete or a unified presentation. There has been a growing need for a work which will

bring together all parts of the story and adequately show the full sweep of the movement from one shore of the continent to the other. Professor Paxson's recent book more nearly accomplishes this than anything yet published.

The title of the book is a clear indication of its content. It is a history of the American frontier from 1763 to 1893, and opens with a survey of the frontier at the end of the French and Indian War. The neglect of the first century and a half of our colonial history finds explanation in these words which close the first chapter:

East of the frontier of 1763 the American groups are best to be examined as European frontiers in America; west of the line is an American frontier to be studied in contrast with the East.

The author then proceeds, by an organization rather strictly chronological, to follow the frontier westward until the close of the period of settlement about 1890.

A writer engaged upon the presentation of a large and many-sided subject covering an extended period of time, is torn between the attractions of two methods—the topical or longitudinal method which illuminates successively and for the entire period the various phases of development, and the chronological or cross-sectional method by which one carries along the whole story in a wide windrow of contemporaneous facts. Professor Paxson's inclinations are toward the latter method, and with a very thorough grasp of details he marshalls his facts and moves steadily down the decades. The chapters are short and uniform in length and the process of continually taking up and laying down a phase of the story as the years unfold rather impedes the flow of the narrative. The integration is factual rather than interpretative although interspersed through the volume are some excellent discussions of the nature of the frontier and frontier problems.

Political affairs receive large attention and the progressive development of territorial and state governments is described with unusual adequacy. The presentations of the public land policy and the Indian policy are excellent, as are the various chapters on railroad building and frontier finance. Although Professor Paxson has kept abreast of the most recent and scholarly contributions to the history of the various phases of the frontier, his

own contribution in this volume is not so much a presentation of new material as it is a detailed and scholarly synthesis of the fragmentary work of previous historical writers, and an endeavor to relate the content of American history to the western movement of the frontier. The public has now a compendious volume on that feature of our history by a scholar thoroughly at home in the field and competent to write with authority.

The reviewer wishes that the narrative had begun 150 years earlier and included a discussion of the frontier in the tidewater and Piedmont regions, and he wishes that a less rigid interpretation of the term frontier had allowed a discussion of the westward movement since 1893. A concession to this larger scope is found in the last chapter, where the author crosses the stated limits of the volume in order to follow to a close the formation of states through the admission of Utah in 1896, Oklahoma in 1907 and New Mexico and Arizona in 1912.

The question of proportionate space devoted to subjects within a given field is somewhat a matter of personal opinion. It seems, however, unfortunate that Jedediah Smith, with his many years of real pathfinding in the west should be dismissed with three sentences, and that the tremendously important subject of the fur trade should be almost wholly neglected. The reviewer would also have welcomed an elimination of some of the political matter for the sake of a more adequate treatment of the geographical background and of the social conditions of the zone of the frontier.

In spite of the multiplicity of facts which are incorporated in the volume, few mistakes have been noted. These are for the most part obvious slips some of which are here listed for the sake of future revisions. The re-enactment of the Northwest Ordinance was not in 1791 (p. 87) but in 1789. On page 93 the words "seventeenth century" should obviously read "eighteenth century." It is not strictly accurate to say of the colonial legislature "Invariably it was bicameral" (p. 98). Céloron de Bienville in 1749 did not leave the St. Lawrence route at Niagara (p. 18), but entered Lake Erie and skirted its southern shore leaving it finally at Chataqua Creek in the extreme western corner of New York. Limestone, pioneer gateway into Kentucky, was not

"opposite Maysville in Kentucky" (p. 73) but was Maysville under an earlier name. The Cimarron is a branch of the Arkansas, not of the Red (p. 328), and Ogallala, of cow country fame, was in Nebraska, not in western Kansas (p. 539).

More maps, especially some giving physiographic features would have been useful. The method which the author employs of using specific footnotes for the inclusion of rather extended bibliographic data has its advantages in point of immediate reference but the reviewer finds himself wishing for a general bibliographical statement either at the end of the chapters or at the close of the volume.

The faults to be found with Professor Paxson's book are minor; the excellences are notable. Altogether it will constitute a landmark in the literature of the westward movement, finding a place as a text in college courses in the history of the west, and serving as a scholarly compendium upon the relation of the moving frontier to American history.

JOHN C. PARISH.

University of California,
Southern Branch.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. By David Saville Muzzey. Boston and New York: Ginn and Company, 1922-1924, two volumes, vi, 621, vi, 803 pp. \$7.00.

Professor Muzzey has written these volumes primarily for the college student. With this in mind he takes for granted a certain elementary knowledge of the subject, and proceeds with a mature consideration of his theme, namely, "the development of the American ideal of democracy, or self-government in freedom." A well rounded presentation of the material requires minimizing somewhat the economic factors involved. "If the pendulum of interest has swung so far to the economic side that it is considered more 'up-to-date' to dwell on the origins of the oil industry than on the origins of Jeffersonian Democracy, or to tabulate the rise and fall of our exports and imports more carefully than the rise and fall of the spirit of civic responsibility, it is an imperative duty of the historian to redress the balance." But it is unnecessary to observe caution in this regard when dealing with the period following the Civil War. In order to do justice to the agricultural west, to the marvelous growth of industry with

its pronounced effect on the relations between capital and labor and between big business and the government, and to the summons to the United States to play a more prominent part in restoring order in a turbulent world, a more generous treatment of economic and international topics is required.

There is a freshness in Professor Muzzey's presentation of old facts which is not found in the majority of current historical writings. This is partly due to his ability to bring together rather remote contemporary events in such a manner as to give striking significance to their contemporaneity, and to his clear and vigorous narrative style. A few appropriately chosen words or phrases, an apt illustration, and a character, an incident or a fact stands like a silhouette against the historical background of its particular era. There is the touch of the master in the presentation of the subject matter of his introductory paragraphs, even though we sometimes observe surprising omissions in the content which follows. Whether recording the turbulent incidents of the years 1797-1800, or commenting on the "inimitable gift for epigram" of John Randolph of Roanoke who "once likened the four years of Jefferson's second administration to the seven lean kine in Pharaoh's dream," or introducing American pioneers with Captain John C. Frémont at their head into the midst of the hectic conditions in Monterey during the stirring summer of 1846, or tapping the tenth census for a yield of varied and sundry data, or showing how the New Age, "with its glory of achievement for the few and its frustration for the many," produced a "conflict of two opposing interpretations of American freedom which have been waged in the last generation"—whatever the theme may happen to be, the consummate skill of the author is a noticeable feature of its unfolding.

The narrative moves from the early to the current era with a constant *crescendo* that will meet the hearty approval of progressive instructors. Chapter four of the first volume, fifty-six pages in length, is entitled "Washington and Adams." In volume two, chapter six, which is eighty-two pages in length, is called "Theodore Roosevelt." The discussion of the Declaration of Independence extends through thirteen pages (I, 71-84); the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations

is presented in thirty-one pages (II, 698-729). Of the 1,424 pages of text in the two volumes, 803, or the entire second volume, are devoted to the period since the Civil War. Four hundred and twenty-eight pages of the last volume deal with the present century. Approximately 400 pages are devoted to the last twenty years of our era, while two hundred and eighty years of colonial history are covered in seventy-one pages. Such is the revolution in emphasis which votaries of the modern period require of their historical writers!

The author is generous in his admissions of the significance of the west in the development of the nation. "The influence of the frontier on the development of American nationality has been so constant and so potent," he says, "its contributions to the American ideals of liberty, democracy and union so incalculable," that it commands the attention of any writer who attempts to do justice to the subject. This, combined with another generous admission—"No other single factor in American life has had so continuous and decisive an influence as our ever-westward-moving frontier." (I, 290)—justifies the reader in expecting a more extended account of the westward movement than he will find in the pages of these volumes.

A discussion of contemporary leaders and current partisan issues will inevitably provoke dissension and objection. In this connection Professor Muzzey cannot escape criticism. To say that Theodore Roosevelt "never became absorbed in the game (of politics) for its own sake or used the vast power which he commanded for purely partisan ends" (II, 376), may be a justifiable statement from one who considers this leader "the most commanding, the most original, the most interesting, and the most brilliant in American life since Lincoln" (II, 379), but it will produce the same effect upon others that the proverbial red flag has upon the bull.

No exception will be taken to Professor Muzzey's discussion of "The Task Before Us." Without malice and supported by ample statistical data he directs attention to current dangers and to immediate responsibilities of citizenship in a manner both startling and suggestive. He shows that

in 1923, over seventy per cent of the criminals found in our prisons were born in foreign lands; that the feverish spirit we have encouraged in our social life manifests itself in a mania for pleasure, an aversion to honest work, and "a mad desire to get somebody else's money" by means fair or foul; that while there was an increase of less than fifteen per cent in population between 1910 and 1920, there was an increase of fifty-seven per cent in the number of divorces granted; that the distribution of our vast wealth is so unequal that millions of our people are in poverty and distress; that we collect in annual per capita taxes an amount five times greater than the taxes of twenty years ago without receiving anything like five times the benefits from their expenditure; that the legislative mills are grinding out tens of thousands of laws each year, and that the constitutions, charters, ordinances and by-laws are receiving constant "tinkering" so that the "whirl of the political machinery threatens to drown out the calm voices of reasoned counsel." Then he sounds a warning by calling attention to the fact that the name democracy contains "no magic potency" for commuting "base metal into gold." Our real problems are at bottom moral problems, and the "real hope of betterment lies in the unceasing effort to educate public opinion in the appreciation of our common responsibility for the success of democratic government and the realization that the man who is recreant to this responsibility is his own worst enemy . . ." (II, 798)

The author has a remedy for our international ills. He would have us get out of the present embarrassing position which we find ourselves, "halting between the councils of a return to political isolation from Europe and an advance to further coöperation" with our former allies and enemies of the Old World. He believes our attitude toward the League of Nations is inconsistent with our relations to it as indicated by the facts. We have been drawing closer to it ever since its formation. "We have taken part 'indirectly' and 'furtively' in more than thirty activities of the League and have been officially represented on five of its commissions, as well as on an institution of its creation—the Permanent

Court of International Justice" (II, 801). The conclusion readily follows that we should quit flirting with isolation and frankly assume our international responsibilities by joining the League.

Professor Muzzey has not followed the Turner-Beard conception of historical writing throughout his narrative, but he has by no means restricted

himself to a mere presentation of facts. His volumes are alive with interest, and his views will command respect among the tolerant even when they cannot be accepted.

CARDINAL L. GOODWIN.

Mills College.

MISCELLANEOUS AMERICANA

HARRY ELMER BARNES

THE COLONIAL BACKGROUND OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By Charles M. Andrews. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924, x, 218 pp. \$2.50.

THE SPIRIT OF THE REVOLUTION. By John C. Fitzpatrick. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924, xii, 300 pp. \$4.00.

A HISTORY OF THE PUBLIC LANDS POLICY. By Benjamin H. Hibbard. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924, xix, 591 pp. \$4.50.

THE HUMANE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES, 1910-1922. By William J. Schultz. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1924, 319 pp. \$3.00.

AMONG the historical students of the American colonial era Professor Charles M. Andrews ranks easily next to the late Professor Herbert L. Osgood, and his conception of history is rather more dynamic and synthetic than that of the latter. He had not limited himself so thoroughly to institutional political history, but has done excellent work on the economic and social background and aspects of colonial history. In the work cited above he has wrought out an admirable interpretation of the American colonial system before 1763, the development of British imperial policy and procedure up to that time, the inevitable clash between the two, and the nature of the resulting struggle. In his treatment of the colonies he brings out clearly the differences in local institutions but proves at the same time the general trend towards a greater degree of self-government. The Mercantilist policy of Great Britain is ably traced, indicating the stages in its development and the significant changes after 1763. The American Revolution is shown to be the inevitable result of two trends developing in opposite directions—the American aspiration to self-government and the parallel growth of a definite British imperial sentiment and policy. But beneath both were definite economic, social

and cultural factors, proving that the Revolution can in no adequate way whatever be interpreted as a purely juristic clash and administrative division. In his concluding reflections Professor Andrews calls for an abandonment of our epical attitude towards the Revolution, and our hero-worshipping tendencies in regard to this movement, and for an adoption of a candid and realistic approach to the subject. Only in this way can we at last arrive at a true understanding of the complex nature of the causes of the Revolution, and a proper appraisal of the policies and personalities involved. With this perspective we might even come to conceive of George III as a human being. While not containing as much in the way of a factual and bibliographic summary of the new scholarship as Professor Van Tyne's recent work on the nature and causes of the American Revolution, it may safely be stated that no other work of at all comparable scope and volume constitutes as up-to-date and profound an interpretation of the genesis of our struggle for independence as does Professor Andrews' stimulating collection of essays.

The distinction between the historian of the new school and the scholarly antiquarian is admirably illustrated by a comparison of Professor Andrew's book with the interesting miscellany in the work of Mr. Fitzpatrick. The title of the latter's book is correct only indirectly and by implication, as it is a collection of highly readable papers on such diverse subjects as the history of the manuscript of the Declaration of Independence, Washington's headquarters in seven states, his aides-de-camp, his Valley Forge expenses, the bread and bakers of the Continental army, a Revolutionary Liberty Loan, seals and visiting cards of the Revolutionary period, and an anthology of

"Georgiana" which are alleged to be of high relevance for Americans today. Yet in many of these chapters one gains an insight into the psychology of the Revolutionary age which scarcely emerges from more generalized and interpretative works. As is the case with antiquarian and episodic history in general, Mr. Fitzpatrick's work is valuable first as literature and second as raw material which may later be used by a dynamic historian of the type of Professor Andrews in the effort to produce an interpretative synthesis of the period.

Professor Richard T. Ely in his early years made an enviable record for himself as a courageous critic of the evils of modern industrialism. He was the first American to favor our learned public with a systematic and discriminating exposition of the varieties of European socialism before 1880, and one of the earliest of our Christian socialists. Transferring from Johns Hopkins to a great university in the agrarian area it was inevitable that his interests should gradually be turned towards property rights, real property and the problems of land and agrarian issues. The emergence of the former interest in a systematic fashion was evident in his two volume work on *Property and Contract* published a few years ago. His growing absorption in land problems has borne fruit in the establishment of an Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities at the University of Wisconsin, which may be regarded as one of the most significant developments in the furtherance of institutional and quantitative economics in the history of the subject in this country, and has already begun to enrich our economic literature. Professor Ely himself has, with the aid of Mr. Morehouse, brought out a general treatise on the *Elements of Land Economics*. This transition in interests and activities is doubtless a fortunate one, as the incidence of the World War on Professor Ely in producing an increased conservatism in regard to matters of capitalism and property, and a growing distrust of radicalism has made him less fitted than of yore to conduct such types of research on matters of wealth and income and industrial organization as are being directed by Professor Wesley C. Mitchell in New York and Professor Harold G. Moulton in Washington. This thorough history of the public land policies in the

United States by Professor Hibbard is the fourth in the list of publications of the Land Economics Series edited by Professor Ely.

The contribution by Professor Hibbard fills a notable gap in the literature of economic and administrative history. Some fifteen years ago Professor Payson J. Treat produced his scholarly study on the history of the national land policy down to 1820, and most economic histories have contained some material on the development of the land system down to the disappearance of the frontier, but there has previously existed no comprehensive account of the subject from the origins to the present day. Professor Hibbard covers the whole field of land policies and methods in a thorough fashion. Among the varied subjects which he treats are the acquisition of the public domain, the different methods of disposing of it, the federal land grants for internal improvements and educational aid, the Homestead Act with its modifications and developments, the timber culture and desert lands acts, conservation and the forest and mineral land reserves, the speculative manias and methods in public lands, the disbursement of the income from the disposal of public lands, and a judicious summary and estimate of the nature and results of the policies of the government in this field in the last century and a half. The book is scholarly, candid and informing. It will long remain the authoritative manual on the subject. Those in search of more racy, seamy and scandalous side of the story will continue to consort with Gustavus Myers' *History of Great American Fortunes*, and his *History of the Supreme Court*. The book is reasonably well equipped with tables and charts.

Dr. Shultz's thorough and interesting book is a continuation of Professor Roswell C. McCrea's work on the same subject which was published fifteen years ago. The author treats in comprehensive fashion the development of the movement against cruelty to animals, the anti-vivisection agitation, the growth of educational methods and propaganda in the field of the prevention of cruelty to animals, and the progress made with respect to the social and legal protection of minors. The larger allotment of space is to the protection of animals rather than of humans. The text is followed by elaborate appendices summarizing the state laws for animal and child protection in this country and sundry details in

regard to education and organization in these lines of endeavor. Dr. Schultz writes in a discriminating fashion as a sociologist and historian and not as an advocate. His book will be a valuable asset to the equipment of the historian and social worker. The author and Professor Lindsay are to be congratulated on its execution.

THE ETHICAL BASIS OF THE STATE. By Norman Wilde. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1924, 236 pp. \$2.50.

Here is a very neat, orderly, readable, elementary survey of political philosophy. It gives a clear and fairly adequate statement of the chief types of political philosophy, both classical and contemporary, and follows this with a discussion of the chief issues centering about the ideas of the state, rights and duties, sovereignty, democracy, justice and liberty. Professor Wilde describes the scope and purpose of the volume very accurately when he says in the Preface that it is desirable that before we attempt to reform or abolish the State, we should have as clear an idea as possible of the nature of it, and of the social purpose it has served. It is as a contribution to the study of such preliminary ethical questions that this book is offered. No attempt at originality has been made. If the book has value, it is as an untechnical exposition of principles more or less clearly recognized since the time of Plato and Aristotle.

The author also tells us how it is possible to get a "clear idea" of the "nature" and "social purpose" of the state. It is necessary, first of all to avoid the confusion between the ideal and the actual state, a confusion which Professor Wilde thinks is the root of most difficulties in political theory. The ideal must neither be set up independently of the facts, nor identified with them. It must grow out of the facts as their actual goal or direction.

Any intelligent idealism must take account of the conditions of the present. An ideal is not an independent abstraction, but is always the ideal of some specific conditions, the possible value of which it expresses (p. 226).

But by these very words he seems to condemn much of his own book, for instead of basing his political theory on an analysis of "some specific conditions," he has followed the time-honored precedent of arguing with his philosophic predecessors. In political philosophy it is seldom worth while to argue with a man unless you know specifically what he is driving at, and it would

certainly be foolish to quarrel with the general principles which Plato and Aristotle and Professor Wilde have formulated, in the absence of any definite indication as to how they are to be applied. It may be eternally true that human beings have common goods, that the state should execute social justice, that minorities should submit to majorities unless they are absolutely sure that they can do more good by rebellion, and that majorities should tolerate minorities as much as possible; but these general truths are not very enlightening. Professor Wilde may be right in saying that these ethical principles should be accepted before we proceed, but certainly it is vain to stop to argue them before we proceed.

Mr. Wilde professes to have no intention of proceeding further. Nevertheless he throws out some incidental suggestions about more fleeting and more pressing problems. These suggestions smack much more of Princeton than of Minnesota. The outlook is in general that of "The New Freedom." Functional representation, the author thinks, might be tried out, but the theory is even worse than that underlying geographical representation, for it makes representatives act as though they had but a single and an economic interest, which is not only contrary to human nature but also to public policy. He has great faith in Miss Follett's neighborhood-groups-state, especially for those interests which transcend mere economic interests. But here again an analysis of the actual conditions of urban life might be useful. Professor Wilde's illustration of the problem of the garbage can, as an interest which such neighborhood groups have in common, strikes me as fairly typical of the sort of common interests which such "groups" exhibit. As to class differences, the point is made that a society without classes might embody as little or even less justice and liberty than a society based on class differences. Other specific suggestions might be cited to indicate the contemporary outlook of the author, but that would be going beyond the scope and purport of the book. The book ought to be used and judged as an introduction to political philosophy. It serves that purpose excellently, for it exhibits both the moral earnestness and the futility of the task of laying down the principles of political obligation.

HERBERT W. SCHNEIDER.

Columbia University.

POLITICS: THE CITIZEN'S BUSINESS. By William Allen White. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1924, viii, 330 pp. \$2.00.

What can one say of a book whose author states in the preface that he is a "convinced though not excited liberal"; who opens with the declaration that, "Probably the wisest group of men who have gathered in modern times, met in the Constitutional Convention that drafted the Constitution of the United States"; who later says, "We must, if we would have constitutional government, remake our Constitution to fit the times"; and who in closing asserts that "our Constitution is adequate to all the strain that this modern civilization puts upon it. . . . Ours is a good government, this constitutional government devised by the fathers, good for to-day when one considers it along with the newer forces which bring this government home to the people"? And when that author is William Allen White, who is advertised on the front cover as "the first citizen of Kansas," should one succumb to the temptation to borrow Mr. White's most famous phrase, and ask, "What is the matter with Kansas?"?

There are several things that might be said to be the matter with this book. The first and most obvious is that it is incomplete. When the first edition is sold out, Mr. White should write at least two additional chapters, one diagnosing the La Follette movement as carefully and accurately as he has treated the two old parties and the other analyzing the Coolidge landslide of 1924. One feels, too, that the title is not well chosen for a book nine-tenths of which is devoted to a running description of the Republican and Democratic conventions of the present year. Mr. White thoroughly believes that politics is the citizen's business, but his description of these two mad carnivals of clap-trap, hokum, and hypocrisy will lead the average reader to the opposite conclusion. A more convincing demonstration of the current belief that politics is the politician's business first, last, and all the time was never put into print.

The thesis of the book, if there is any such, is the vast and subtle power of the forces of invisible government which are now operative in this country. The author says, "the Constitution has been supplanted, and we have two kinds of government—our political government; and a

group of organized minorities, sometimes working together, sometimes at each other's throats, making a vast, uncontrolled, but tremendously powerful, invisible government—the government of minorities." This government of the Farm Bloc, the Anti-Saloon League, the Ku Klux Klan, the American Federation of Labor, the League of Women Voters, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and a score or more of the same general character, Mr. White regards as the real government of America to-day. And yet he says, in the same paragraph from which the quotation above was lifted, "The complexity of our government no longer makes its citizens powerless." It is evidently his idea that the controlling power, out of which the people have been swindled by the check-and-balance system, the long ballot, and the spoils system, has been regained through the agency of these cohesive and militant minorities. If this could be demonstrated, it would be a fact of decisive significance in the reconstruction of our political institutions. But that it cannot be demonstrated, and probably is not true, Mr. White virtually confesses, when on pages 17 and 18 he makes a plea that our invisible government be rendered visible and that these organized minorities be made responsible to the constitutional authority of the land.

Mr. White's prescription for converting invisibility into visibility is that all these political groups "be compelled to incorporate and furnish complete statements of the sources of their receipts, the manner of their expenditures, their purposes and plans, of their membership and of their directing officers." Pitiless publicity—how the progressives do cling to that venerable nostrum! Some years ago Congress adopted legislation requiring newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals to publish each year a full statement as to their internal control and management, but it is difficult to discover that this has made any great difference in the control of the press or the way news is handled. One who has observed the difficulties which government attorneys encounter when trying to probe into the affairs of great public utility companies which are required by law to keep their books open and follow prescribed forms in keeping their accounts, cannot have saving faith in the efficacy of the weapon of publicity.

Satisfied with this panacea, Mr. White moves on, novelist-like, to the inevitable happy ending, which is that "Probably our Constitution is adequate to all the strain that this modern civilization puts upon it; and surely it may be amended as rapidly as the need for amendment develops in the hearts of the people. . . . Democracy was never so near the people as it is in the United States of America in this year that is passing. Under a strictly constitutional government, in America to-day the citizen might lose his political identity. But he has changed the government, opened scores of roads of access to influence and effective service, and to-day stands upright, self-respecting, powerful to release in righteous political endeavor the full voltage of such a mind and heart as God has given to him!"

But one must not be hypercritical. William Allen White can write—how he can write! And he typifies, better perhaps than any one else in this country, that not uncommon combination of satirist and evangelist which is so characteristic of American civilization. With all of his blistering satire and merciless gibbeting of the follies, absurdities, and hypocrisies of our party system, there is an ever-present undertone of exhortation and homily. One cannot but feel at times that Mr. White is a spiritual brother of Sam Jones and Billy Sunday, working in a different milieu.

As a piece of political satire this book is a near-classic. It will shatter many illusions and destroy many idols. It is not likely to be remembered, however, as a deep and searching contribution to the literature of political science.

CHESTER C. MAXEY.

Western Reserve University.

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY TODAY. By William Starr Myers. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1924, 162 pp. \$1.75.

This volume consist of a series of essays on politics and government a number of which originally appeared in the *New York Herald* and the *New York Journal of Commerce*. The author is professor of politics in Princeton University and a well known lecturer on current problems. In his preface Professor Myers tells us that his purpose in writing these essays is to "arouse" the American people to a greater interest in politics and administration by calling

their attention to the "fundamental principles of political science in the light of their present-day application."

In the first essay, "American Democracy To-day," we find out what our fundamental trouble is. The Anglo-Saxon stock is being swamped by the arrival of hordes from continental Europe. To ride on the New York subway and be pushed and shoved by the crowd of "human cattle" makes Professor Myers despair of the future of this country. The foreign-born vote in blocs and thus introduce into our politics the factionalism of Europe; in fact they incline toward socialism. They have not "advanced to the two party system" so characteristic of the United States and England. The remedy lies in a radical restriction of immigration even though that may produce a scarcity of labor, for "what would it profit this country to gain the whole economic world and lose its American soul." Further, we should restrict the suffrage by requiring a reading, writing, and speaking knowledge of English, and should make the naturalization process longer and more difficult by instituting prerequisites in the form of civil service examinations in government, history, geography, and economic resources.

There are many other dangers which our author views with alarm. Federal centralization has reached the point where it threatens self-government itself. It is caused largely by our faulty and class-inspired system of taxation, national and state. For example it is an outrage that New York, not content to tax the income of its own citizens, taxes also the citizens of other states on their incomes derived from New York. Those radicals who advocate a more speedy method of amending our Constitution are wrong. The ease with which recent amendments were adopted, "slipped through," shows that amendments can be added too easily. "Unchangeableness is one of the greatest grounds of confidence and balanced thought among all human beings." The Constitution should be preserved as an object of reverence. We should remember that it is a codification of British law and government. The Senate, weakened by the introduction of popular election and restored temporarily in 1919 by popular support in its struggle with Wilsonian dictatorship, has again

fallen from its high estate by becoming the mouthpiece of the radical agricultural bloc to combat whose "half baked" class proposals we are now forced to rely upon the House. It may even become necessary to deprive the West of its overrepresentation in the Senate if its program should "show any signs of being put into effect." Proposals to limit the power of the courts are without merit. Five to four decisions are not made by one judge; four other judges agree with him. Such close decisions in fact indicate a nice appreciation of a divided public opinion. Moreover, if we begin to limit the courts the way is opened for all kinds of ill-advised schemes.

What should be done about it? The answer is as follows. Keep as near as possible to Anglo-Saxon precedents, except in the matter of judicial review. This theme recurs again and again. Maintain the two party system at all hazards. Beware of blocs and class legislation. Increase party responsibility by having only majority members on legislative committees. Centralize control over state administration in the hands of the governor by adopting the short ballot. Strangely enough New Jersey with its many administrative boards and commissions largely independent of the governor is offered as a model for other states possibly because in that state the governor is the only executive officer elected by popular vote. But above all other things resist the insidious attacks of the foreigners among us who would destroy the fundamental principles of our governmental system. We must Americanize them or they will de-Americanize us.

In view of the arguments advanced relative to the generally low intelligence of our people (the army tests do valiant service here) may it not be of doubtful expediency to "arouse" them? Should they become "aroused" they might lay violent hands on some of the institutions which Professor Myers would have us cherish.

ELMER D. GRAPER.

University of Pittsburgh.

AMERICAN STATE GOVERNMENT. By John Mabry Mathews. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1924, xv, 660 pp. \$4.00.

Those persons who decry the trend toward the "new nationalism" may find consolation in the

appearance of another book on the subject of state government. There remains yet a plenty in the field to write upon. The states will not down. In fact, the political scientists may almost be said to have been discovering the states in recent years. Of Professor A. N. Holcombe's "State Government in the United States," a reviewer wrote in 1917, "hitherto there has been no serious attempt at a comprehensive investigation in this field." Since then there have appeared Kimball's "State and Municipal Government in the United States," and Dodd's "State Government," in the former of which state government is treated as part of a "single manifestation of local government," although the author points out that "in his political activity the citizen takes part in both the federal and the local government in accordance with state regulations." Professor Mathews claims in his preface that, from the point of view that "neither the national nor the local governments may be profitably studied or thoroughly understood without reference to their relations to the states," the latter "occupy a pivotal position and form the most essential part of a study of the whole American governmental system."

The same author's "Principles of American State Administration," 1917, was practically a pioneer in its field. One might suppose that the present treatise would prove a sort of enlargement of the former to include other phases of state government, but it is not. It is an attempt to "present a general survey of state government, in such a form as may be useful to the general reader and also to college and university classes studying the subject." In this purpose Professor Mathews has succeeded admirably.

After discussing the place of the states in the union, state constitutions, and the means of popular control through elections and the newer institutions of democracy, the author proceeds to the examination and constructive criticism of the organization and functioning of the branches of state government and then to a study of the problems of administrative organization. In addition to the proprietary functions of taxation and finance, only two of the leading areas of state activity are described at length,—the regulation of business corporations and labor legislation. The treatment, in view of the space at hand, is

excellent. Both subjects were quite briefly handled in the earlier work on administration, which included, however, extensive chapters on education, charities and corrections, and public health. Local government is omitted from separate and specific presentation, although the final chapter discusses somewhat summarily the relations,—constitutional, legal, and administrative,—between it and state government.

The author is plainly and pointedly critical of our traditional machinery of justice, and of the obstructive tendencies of the courts in reviewing legislative and administrative activity, especially in view of the increasing extent and complexity of administrative problems. He admits, however, that the only practicable method of enforcing constitutional limitations is to entrust that function to some one department of the government and believes that on the whole the judiciary is best fitted for this purpose. Throughout the book he writes as an advocate of simplifications of governmental processes and interrelationships. Governmental restrictions upon business practices and enactments in favor of workingmen do not seem to him necessarily anti-individualistic.

The allotment of space to these different aspects of state government is in the main judicious. To the reviewer it seems that, probably unavoidably, in the compression of parts of the subject matter of the former book, some of the juice and flavor were squeezed out. The style is everywhere clear and concise, the arrangement orderly and logical, and the ground covered is comprehensive.

Professor Mathews writes from a practical experience gained through official connection with investigations of state government in Illinois and Oregon. Besides, he has apparently made use of all the worthwhile material recently contributed by studies, official and otherwise, of state governmental problems throughout the country. Useful reference lists follow most of the chapters. The appendices (pages 519-652) contain the Model State Constitution prepared by the committee on state government of the National Municipal League and eight other articles or pamphlets on proportional representation, the short ballot, and local government subjects.

Some readers may regard Professor Mathew's approach and methods as withal somewhat too legalistic and formal,—may think that there are

too many citations of court opinions. It is true that the new psychology and the recent studies of public opinion and the attitudes of officialdom have not found their way into the book. M. Cooreman is quoted indirectly to the effect that the character of any particular administrative system is determined by its environment, that is, by the totality of the social, economic, and political forces and traditions which exert an influence upon it. The social necessity of administration legitimizes its existence, but also determines the extent of its province.

The social necessity and the environment receive little attention. But Professor Mathews may well respond that restrictions of time and space are inexorable. Further, the author probably believes that we have been somewhat more successful in attaining a democratic basis for the declaration of policy, and in protecting individual and group interests from legitimate democratic efforts at control, than we have been in applying enacted principles to unruly facts.

There are perhaps a few cases of disproportionate emphasis,—for instance, a page for corrupt practices in elections and less than a page on the lobby, with little more on the forces back of proposals for law-making, as compared with twelve pages on the apportionment of representatives and the bases of representation. It may be that the present interest in the balance of our federal system would warrant a more extensive consideration of grants-in-aid than one short paragraph will permit. Even if this subject be more immediately national than state in character, yet a reasoned discussion of the trend in national-state and state-local relations would be valuable.

RALPH S. BOOTS.

University of Nebraska.

*DOTATION CARNEGIE POUR LA PAIX INTERNATIONALE.
ENQUETE SUR LES LIVRES SCOLAIRES D'APRES GUERRE.
Paris: Centre Européen de la Dotation Carnegie,
1923, 452 pp.*

This study is an important contribution to our knowledge of contemporary forces which are bringing on "the next war." The school text books here examined are, of course, but one of these forces, but they influence the minds of little children at an impressionable age. Unless counteracted by forces of an opposite nature they will determine the attitude of the coming generation towards their own and other countries.

They are also to some degree indices of public policies and other influences which are not so easily measured. The books studied vary somewhat within a particular country and much more as between different countries. But the study shows clearly that French and German texts, at least, preach a narrow nationalism and tend to stimulate rather than allay the bitter hatreds engendered by the war. They are distinct provocatives of war.

This study, made by the French branch of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, was planned at the end of 1921 and apparently includes books published as late as the following year, though the majority bear an earlier date. French, Belgium, German, Italian, English, Austrian and Bulgarian books in use in primary and secondary schools were considered. Thus some hundreds of textbooks in history and civics, as well as geographies and miscellaneous readers were examined.

The conclusions with reference to French texts are especially convincing because those who supervised the study were Frenchmen. In most cases the information desired was secured by scholars of the nationality in question but a different method was employed in Germany. There a German pacifist collected the books, but the analyses were made by two French professors who had studied in Germany but are teaching in France. Their point of view is distinctly French. In Bulgaria "a proved friend of the Entente" did the work. Parts of the study, therefore, lack that objectivity and impartiality which are all important in such a controversial field. The sincere attempt of those who edit the study as a whole to maintain an impartial attitude is not to be doubted. Nevertheless even they sometimes make assumptions which a German scholar would not leave unchallenged.

Space will only permit a bare summary of the general conclusions for each country. It must be remembered that these are generalizations and do not apply to every book studied.

With hardly an exception but with some differences in emphasis French texts make Germany entirely responsible for the war; make little or no distinction between the German Government and the German people; present the enemy as deliberately planning and delighting in cruelty; present isolated facts as though they

were representative; fail to verify sources and abound in mere anecdotes; urge preparedness against Germany; (some) urge a boycott of goods made in Germany; discuss the League of Nations, if at all, merely as an organization intended to protect France against Germany. On the other hand they all idealize France as always great, just, generous and noble. A few recognize the courage of the foe and a few have a slightly broader conception of the League. Belgian books are similar to the French.

In Germany the Constitution of Weimar has in Article 148 a most commendable provision. It requires that peace and internationalism be taught in the schools and that militarism and chauvinism be banished from the textbooks. But this article is a dead letter. The authors of the study admit that the occupation of the Ruhr and economic difficulties have made the introduction of the new program more difficult. But in general they hold Germany, and especially the higher teaching staff responsible for the failure to follow out this excellent aim. Thus German texts still teach the philosophy of force; pretend that books published after the defeat are earlier editions; hold Germany entirely innocent; maintain that she tried to prevent the war but was blocked by her enemies; show Germany encircled by foes and the innocent victim of English commercialism, French hate and Russian imperialism. They declare that Belgium had broken her own neutrality before she was violated; and that the French invaded German territory first. They present the submarine warfare as a necessary reply to England's illegal blockade; justify the burning of Louvain on the ground that French civilians fired on German troops; insist that the Allies themselves committed horrible atrocities and show no remorse for their own. They declare that the Lusitania carried contraband and glory in the useless air raids on London. They bitterly condemn the Treaty of Versailles as the most severe terms since the fall of Carthage, and as a breach of the fourteen points. Moreover the German books still breathe the spirit of an old regime, teach that monarchy has proven the best form of government, that the Social-democrats were responsible for the fall of the Empire, and that a personal attachment to the Emperor is necessary. They preach narrow nationalism and militarism, assume war a necessity, ignore the life of other nations and even justify

German imperialism. Thus the uncritical minds of little children are poisoned. The foregoing is the criticism of the authors of the study. Some students would qualify it considerably.

The texts in Austria also present their own cause in as favorable a light as possible; but in general they breathe a different and more liberal spirit. The need to harmonize the views of many nationalities within the old Austria made this necessary, and the new books show a similar breadth. The liberalism has been extended to other peoples. Militarism has largely been banished from the books and less space is given to wars. Heroes of peace are more lauded than those of war. In general her present policy is much praised.

The study of English books seem least complete and conclusive. The decentralization of the English educational system made the study more difficult. In general English books are relatively liberal. They do not teach internationalism, but interpret English ideals in terms of the needs of humanity. Insularity is still present but is decreasing. Many leaders are awake to the need for a broader outlook. Yet little modern history is taught in English schools. The Cambridge entrance examinations in December 1920 included the question: "What events prior to 1910 tend to prove that Germany had formed a vast project of expansion and world hegemony?" In some recent books the cruelties of the Germans are treated more as necessary accompaniments of war than as peculiarly German, although they are condemned.

According to the Italian author of the section on Italy the Italian books are for the most part models of liberalism. But an intense and passionate love of Italy is preached. Many books insist that Italy has been cheated out of her just rewards by the Treaty. The directors of the study comment that the Italian books show an important source of fascism.

The Bulgarian texts blame King Ferdinand and his Government for their country's mistake in entering the war on the wrong side. Thus their hatred is directed within rather than towards their former enemies. Yet the treatment of the Bulgarian people has been, they say, most unjust. Thousands living in other lands are now deprived of the human rights to language, schools, church and even national name. Thus a Bulgaria irri-

denta has been created. Nevertheless Bulgaria plans no violent revenge. She will keep her word, punish the traitors and remain pacific!

The above summaries cannot adequately present the importance of the textbook problem. One must read the quotations and imagine himself a docile schoolboy to appreciate their real significance. The following quotations might be multiplied indefinitely:

(German) "En réalité, nos ennemis ne manquaient moyen de combat, si affreux fût-il (balles dum-dum, guerriers de couleur choisis parmi les plus sauvages, etc.). Ils firent subir les plus terribles cruautés aux habitants des territoires occupés ainsi qu'aux soldats, dans la Prusse orientale, en Alsace, en Galicie.

"Les Anglais poussèrent des Allemands prisonniers devant eux pendant les attaques; les Russes exposèrent de même leurs propres paysans pour cacher leurs mouvements. On bombardait de paisibles villes ouvertes, comme Fribourg, Karlsruhe, etc. Les Anglais refusèrent de sauver des Allemands naufragés, tandis que l'Amérique, soi-disant neutre, fournissait, dès le début, des munitions à nos adversaires."

(French) "Il est dangereux de s'endormir avec un serpent à ses côtés, et l'Allemagne a trop menti pour que nous pouvissions jamais plus avoir foi en sa parole."

"Ils ne respectent rien, les misérables. Ils ont tué des enfants, des femmes, des vieillards; ils ont achevé nos blessés, ils ont incendié les maisons de nos villages, ils ont bombardé nos hôpitaux, nos ambulances; . . . N'est-ce pas, mon fils, me dit ma mère en me regardant au fond des yeux, que tu n'oublieras pas tous ces crimes?—Je te le promets, ma mère."

The study under review is to be highly commended. It should be translated for wide circulation in different countries. In the reviewer's opinion, however, further study which shall be more inclusive and more objective in method is urgently needed. Our own textbooks are perhaps more liberal in spirit than the European but many of them are equally narrow, and the important facts they omit are as significant as what they print.

DONALD R. TAFT.

Wells College.

THE ECONOMICS OF FATIGUE AND UNREST. By P. Sargant Florence. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1924, 426 pp. \$3.50.

It has been the custom of the economists of both the classical and neo-classical schools in their discussions of wages, to write of "Units of Labor." Upon analysis indeed, these units are seen to be measured in terms of skill and intensity of effort as well as time. They are thus three-dimensional at the least. Within recent years, the researches into labor turnover, absenteeism, fatigue and output, industrial accidents and ill-health have offered convincing proof that there are several additional factors which enter into these units of labor upon which the theory of wages is based.

Mr. Florence has done well to bring together the results of these researches and to interpret them to a wider audience. He is particularly well equipped to do so because of his work on fatigue and output in England during the War for the British Association, and for the well-known *Comparison of an Eight-Hour Plant and a Ten-Hour Plant*, which he made as a member of the United States Public Health Service. He is thoroughly acquainted, therefore, with the work that has been done on both sides of the water in the way of increasing labor efficiency. While this book, originally published in England, breaks little new ground, it should prove especially valuable in introducing to his fellow-countrymen, the results of American investigations which otherwise would probably have been largely ignored by them.

The well-known studies of Alexander, Brissenden, and Frankel are utilized to show the extent of labor turnover in this country, and are compared with the less inclusive investigations in England by the Industrial Fatigue Research Board. The English studies, however, seem to be too scanty to permit any accurate idea as to the relative mobility of labor in the two countries. Mr. Florence's most valuable contribution in this section is to apply Alexander's estimates of the total cost to the employers of labor turnover in those factories which the latter investigated and by comparing this with the total payroll of the factories covered, to estimate that each 20% of labor turnover costs 1% of the wages bill of the factory. Thus a turnover of 100% would mean a

5% addition in cost to the payroll. If this may be accepted as approximately an accurate estimate, showing the costs of turnover in this country prior and during the war, some interesting results are shown by reference to other investigations. Thus the investigations by Slichter for the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations and those of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, indicated that a turnover of 100% was probably the average before the War, while the studies by the Bureau of Labor Statistics during the War indicate that the average rate in 1917-1918 had risen to approximately 200%. This would have meant an approximate cost of 5% of the payroll in 1914 and of 10% in 1917-18. This would have amounted in the earlier year to a loss of \$200,000,000 in manufacturing alone, and of at least \$1,000,000,000 in 1918. This is one of the costs which are decreased in times of business depression, and hence is one of the pigs which are roasted as we periodically allow our industrial house to be set on fire.

Mr. Florence also estimates the average amount of absenteeism in the United States at approximately five percent. While it is possible that this may be a fairly accurate approximation of the percentage prevailing over a considerable period of time, the reviewer believes it to be a very considerable understatement of its extent during the up-swing of the business cycle.

The most satisfactory chapter is that on deficiency of output, where the author's first hand experience enables him to present the various studies of output in detail. He concludes that the evidence indicates that "reduction from a 12 hour to a 10 hour basis results in increased daily output; further reduction to an eight-hour basis results in maintaining this increased daily output; but further reduction while increasing the hourly rate of output, seems to decrease the total daily output."

After a brief chapter on defective quality of output there follows a somewhat prolix chapter on the loss caused by industrial accidents. It does not summarize the total loss of working time thus occasioned in this country in any such succinct fashion as Downey's recent estimate of forty-million man-weeks.

As for the losses caused by industrial ill-health, the author estimates the average days lost because

of temporary sickness in Europe to be from "six to seven days per year for men, and seven to eight and a quarter days for women."

In chapter xii, an explanation of all these losses is attempted in terms of fatigue and unrest. Judging by the relative amount of space which Mr. Florence devotes to hours and conditions of work, he believes these factors to be far more potent causes of these wastes than are low wages or bad living conditions. This may well be true as regards output and accidents, but the reviewer believes that it is not so in the case of turnover and absenteeism.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS.

The University of Chicago and
Amherst College.

INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY IN ENGLAND TOWARDS THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Witt Bowden. New York: Macmillan Company, 1924, xii, 343 pp. \$3.50.

This important and scholarly work constitutes a distinct step in advance towards filling a conspicuous gap in the literature in English on modern social and economic history. Just twenty years ago P. Mantoux published his unrivalled volume on the Industrial Revolution in England, but since that time there has not appeared in English any satisfactory work in a single volume covering that epoch-making movement. The Webbs, Hammonds and others have written important monographs on various phases of this transition, and Mrs. Knowles has produced a volume containing a vast amount of reliable and pertinent concrete information but difficult to read consistently. Dr. Bowden's volume is at once reliable, comprehensive, readable and logically organized. He considers in order the general background, causes and dominating motives of the age of mechanical invention, the introduction of the machine technique in the textile industries, the rise and methods of Arkwright and the "great industrialists" who promoted the factory system, and the incidence of the new technology and the factory system on the industrial workers.

While sufficiently detailed and concrete to give an accurate picture of this great transition in economic and social life, the book is especially distinguished for its capacity to get beneath the episodes and details which swamp most historians, and to describe in a broad and discriminating

fashion the major phases of the initial stages of the greatest transformation to which man has yet been subjected. In this way it admirably supplements portions of the earlier works of Mantoux and Mrs. Knowles. Fundamentally the book is more a contribution to social than purely economic history, as it is primarily concerned with the social and cultural causes of the Industrial Revolution, and the leading social readjustments forced by its earlier stages in England. For the social historian and the historical sociologist there is no other development of anything like the same significance as the triumph of the machine technique and the factory system, and we may welcome this synthetic description and appraisal of its beginnings. It may well be doubted if we shall soon see it superseded in any other one volume work on the subject. The practical utility of the book is enhanced by an excellent classified bibliography of contemporary sources and secondary works, and an adequate index.

HARRY E. BARNES.

Smith College.

FARM LIFE ABROAD. By E. C. Branson. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1924, viii, 303 pp. \$2.00.

Dr. Branson holds a chair in Rural Social Economics at the University of North Carolina. In his year abroad, "Studying The Country-End of Things in Germany, Denmark, and France," he was interested first and foremost in the rural life of his own state. The importance of things seen or heard resided mainly in their lessons for home folks. His book consists of a series of slightly revised letters appearing week by week during his absence in the University of North Carolina *News Letter* and in five Sunday dailies of the state. A secondary interest to the author—a major interest to the non-Carolinian reader no doubt—was to find out what is going on, materially and mentally, in the farm villages of Europe. The future of that troubled area will depend far less upon "crises" and "revolutions" in cabinets and capitals than upon the daily activities of rural folk who are far removed from the regular beats of press correspondents. The author's reports help to fill a real gap in American information concerning the fundamental social conditions of the European world in 1923-24. Especially as to Germany.

Frederic C. Howe's *Denmark: A Coöperative Commonwealth*, appearing in 1921, did much to call attention to that country's achievements in agricultural organization, and in the reduction of such evils as farm tenancy and illiteracy. Professor Branson has added but little to Howe's description. In the case of France, the author was thwarted continually in his efforts to penetrate the walls of masonry, formality and red tape by which the French protect their *privacy*. This section of the book is consequently under-done, although no satisfactory substitute can be suggested by either the author or the reviewer, for to the French themselves "there are no country-life problems or none worth attention beyond those of producing crops and animal products." In the case of Germany, no comparable study of rural life so far as the reviewer is aware has yet appeared in English since the war. Professor Branson appears to be alone in supplying the need.

But this is not a book of scientific exposition, nor is it so intended. In its 300 odd pages it contains one single footnote. Its conclusions rest upon the say-so of the author. As in most such books, the reader must replace reliance upon data with reliance upon the skill and impartiality of the observer in synthesizing observations into conclusions. But while the book is frankly popularization, this term may be employed in its best and most useful sense. It is directed consistently to a specific end, the stimulation of North Carolinians by comparison and example to the improvement of farm life in that state. To this end the letters are colloquial and chatty. Readers who are not resident in "Tarheelia" will be able to make corresponding applications to their own communities, although they may feel like eavesdroppers when they listen in to conversation like this among fellow residents of Chapel Hill: "If Henry, for instance, lived in Denmark, his wife would be mortally affronted if she were not addressed as Fru Professor Henry. And our Mayor's wife if, he had the wit or the nerve to have a wife, would have to be addressed as Fru Mayor Roberson."

Some three months of the author's time were spent in south Germany—Wurtemberg, Baden and Bavaria. Here are some of his more significant conclusions: The farmers of Germany are rich. For ten years they have been producing

real values in farm products, and turning these at high prices into fictitious marks. The latter have been at once turned back into productive properties and creature comforts—lands, farm tools, work stock, better homes, and the like. It is the trick of Mr. Stinnes in the field of industry. The German farm is almost the last word in self-sufficiency, and self-sufficiency is the essence of what Stinnes called vertical business. The peasant is not merely a farmer, but a worker in innumerable small scale industries (which have spread throughout the rural areas of south Germany) or even in city factories to which low railway fares enable him to commute. These small home-owning farmers, living in farm villages as Sir Henry Maine described them, and composing as well no small portion of the working class, are the bulwark against radicalism, and they constitute three-fifths of the population of Germany. Incidentally, the author believes, democracy has come to stay, and warfare has gone out of favor among the masses for good.

Somewhat inconsistent, it seems, is the alarmist note that occasionally appears. In the chapter "Will Germany Blow Up," it is declared "There will be no general social upheaval in Germany as in Russia," yet among city wage-earning and salaried classes "the sense of thrift is being slowly but certainly destroyed." "Germany is mortally stricken for all the charming outward look of things." It is the "devil's dance of the mark" that is responsible. If the mark should wholly lose its value "the day of Germany's recovery is moved forward many years or even many centuries."

While "Germany's lesson for us is ownership farming and compact country community life, Denmark's lesson for all the world is small-scale livestock farming on an ownership basis, universal intelligence, and coöperative farm enterprise." There are 247,000 farmers in Denmark but 1,350,000 members in coöperative societies. Upon an average, a Danish farmer belongs to five societies. He is prosperous, comfortable, literate and efficient in business beyond any other peasant in the world. His success has brought to Denmark students of coöperation and education from every land. An excellent summarization of the reasons for the Danish success in coöperative enterprise is contained in Chapter XXVIII.

As in Germany, both sexes and all ages among the French peasantry are bound by rural custom to unceasing toil. Both countries in this respect, are in sharp contrast with Denmark, whose farmers have learned to use their heads instead of their backs, and whose women are relieved of field work. But whereas the war and post-war riches of German farmers have been returned to their farm holdings to the ultimate enrichment of cultural life, the French farmers have hoarded corresponding riches gained during the same period, or invested them in securities. Theirs is the thriftiness of the miser in contrast with the thriftiness of the producing enterprise. "If the country civilization of any county of North Carolina were as sordid as it is in France, as steeped in the self-imposed poverty of pinching parsimony, I should feel like sitting down in sackcloth and ashes."

One hesitates to criticize a book so well adapted to its avowed purpose. Yet it is regrettable in even a popular treatise not to find more information regarding the evidence underlying the author's conclusions. They are not, surely, based wholly on impression. *How much* richer are the peasants of France and Germany? Is it safe to generalize from impressions of Wurtemberg, Baden and Bavaria to *all* of Germany? Such questions as these worry the mind of a critical reader in every chapter. Moreover, the inference cannot be avoided that in many cases Dr. Branson is using his writing room in Europe as a base for the promulgation of conclusions already formed before reaching the scene of his inquiries. On the day following that in which he stepped ashore at Hamburg he writes of Germany, "It will take long centuries for her to recover the treasures accumulated in a thousand years of history." And again, "He would be a stupid observer who could not look below the charming outward surface of things in this beautiful land into the bewildered, benumbed soul of a people who toil on in dumb despair." Might not these things have been written just as well in Chapel Hill? Possibly they were, in the course of revision. Having written for the laity, perhaps Professor Branson will now give us something further for the profession.

STUART A. RICE.

Dartmouth College.

The following is typical:

"Nor is the farm woman lacking in culture. It is not always recognized, though it is true, that the average farm woman is better read and better informed on the questions of the day than is the average city woman. . . . She develops a pioneer spirit in her sensitiveness to truth and checks up every printed statement with her own experience with life" (p. 11).

The position from which it appears to have been written is one-sided. This is manifested by the constant idealizations of the author's childhood on the farm, and her deductions from a few especially optimistic quotations from letters. The fact that a large percentage of the letters were written to *The Farmer's Wife* for a prize, and voted to general and specific suggestions which are designed as guides in bettering farm conditions, rural institutions, and organizations. Likewise, there are frequent and wholesome statements that reveal sympathy and appreciation of the many difficulties of rural life and the necessity of the development of the highest human values. The suggestion for activity vary from directions for cooking, through directions for farm bookkeeping, to methods for building up a community church.

That the purpose of the book as is stated in the foreword has been fulfilled is very doubtful. As a scientific treatise it has no value since there is nothing especially new and indeed no deductions from any body of authentic and carefully gathered data. Also glaring and inaccurate generalizations prevail throughout the entire volume. *THE WOMAN ON THE FARM*. By Mary Meek Atkeson. New York: The Century Company, 1924, ix, 331 pp. \$2.00.

The purpose of this book is to introduce "the woman on the farm—her work, her problems, and her point of view on life." It is published as the second of *The Century Rural Life Books* which are being edited by Dr. C. J. Galpin. The material for the volume was gathered from letters of farm women made available by *Farm and Home*, *The Farmer's Wife* and the U. S. Department of Agriculture; and, from contacts of the author made at gatherings where farm women were participants. The well recognized problems of rural life constitute the bulk of the contents with the approach to them presumably made from the point of view of the farm woman. Much space is de-

thus do not convey accurate information, is especially noticeable in the conclusions throughout the entire book and makes for unjustifiable deductions. Where the idealizations of childhood and the optimistic inferences from letters are not manifest absurd judgments regarding farm life appear. Indeed, much of it sounds like the exclamations of the city tourists who may admire the beauty of a wheat field but whose knowledge ceases there. The book is well written if only one sentence at a time is considered, but the production as a whole lacks the unity that is essential for a well organized and thoroughly thought-out publication.

BRUCE L. MELVIN.

New York State College of Agriculture.

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON: A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY. By J. A. Steuart. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1924, two volumes, 739 pp. \$8.00.

The most significant discovery made by recent biographers (or is it only a re-discovery?) is this: that fact may be as entertaining as myth, and far more illuminating. In the main, these biographies have a humanizing influence: thus in Thomas Beer's "Stephen Crane" we learn that Crane was not the devil incarnate, revelling in drugs and illegitimate children, but a human being of reasonable moral decency, and not unlike the rest of us under the skin; now we learn too that Robert Louis Stevenson was not God's right-hand angel, "a seraph in chocolate," but again a normal man with a normal man's blood running through his veins.

This humanizing of Stevenson is the work of Mr. John A. Steuart in a very admirable two-volume biography. Mr. Steuart's was no easy task, but with the aid of Mr. George S. Hellman of New York and the Bibliophile Society of Boston and, one suspects, an untiring devotion to his subject, he has effectually washed away the celestial glue with which Stevenson's relatives quite completely obscured the man. Regarding the material which has now been given to the public generally, Mr. Steuart writes:

... Stevenson has preserved a large body of work, both in prose and verse; a great part of it written in his early Edinburgh days and illustrating his mode of life at that time. Much of it, however, was of a character which might seem to challenge or contradict the popular

conception of Stevenson as man and writer. Stevenson himself obviously meant it to be published, and even made preparations for publication. But Mrs. Stevenson, who appears to have been very much in control, decided it would be too hazardous a venture to give such matter to the public.

Accordingly for more than twenty years it was kept secret. At Stevenson's death it became the property of his widow; at her death it passed to her daughter, Mrs. Isobel Strong, later Mrs. Salisbury Field; and from her hands it found its way into a New York salesroom. By great good fortune the purchaser was Mr. Hellman, who in 1915 edited two volumes of hitherto unpublished Stevenson poems, and issued in 1921 four additional volumes of entirely new material, both in verse and prose.

Mrs. Stevenson's motives for concealing so much valuable biographical matter are not beyond conjecture. Mr. Hellman believes she was engaged in "the gentle and genteel art of myth-making." Those intimate and all too suggestive effusions might shock the good people who, with all the implicit faith of trusting innocence, had accepted the cherub ideal in all its beautiful and blameless integrity. He was thought rather to shun than seek the society of woman. On that point, indeed, it was reported (and believed) he was so shrinkingly timid that it was with extreme reluctance he admitted a petticoat into his books. The Pope himself could not be more chary of the sex; so that, as an adoring critic was moved to observe, "If his art suffered from his virtue, his character remained the purer." . . . "Mrs. Stevenson knew better than ignorant, purblind worshippers; but would it be wise, would it be safe, to disturb their doting faith?"

Stevenson himself yearned for an adventurous Highland ancestry. Failing to find one, he fabricated one. Mr. Steuart believes he has discovered an ancestry for Stevenson of which the novelist would have been proud, one compounded of the predatory Highland Blairs and their feuds, and the French Lizars. It is this blood coming to light, thinks Mr. Steuart, which accounts for the young Stevenson of Edinburgh days—the gay dog about town; dressed in checkered trousers, velvet coat and black shirt; the lover of "Clair," apparently a prostitute, yet for whom Stevenson's affections were deep enough to have permitted marriage had his fear of his orthodox father and mother been a little less than it was.

But students of biology and sociology may prefer to find the impetus for the rioting young Louis, not in a rather hazy and distant maternal ancestry, but more directly in an intelligent man's reaction to Covenanting Edinburgh and an extremely pious and intolerant father; aided and abetted no doubt by the reading of Huxley and

Darwin, then already beginning the corruption of Christian students in the universities. Whatever the cause, Louis's philandering went on until his father gave him up for a worthless rake and even his mother's remarkable affection hung by a thread. Not that Louis's sins were unusually weighty (he did not, as one critic has said, carry on "a long series of depressing love affairs")—it was rather that he was singularly indiscreet in giving a loud tongue to his atheism, independence, and sordid love businesses.

Stevenson's revolt softened gradually, however, as he grew out of the Sophomoric age. Indeed the amelioration went so far that before his death he was able to compose the Vailima prayers with obvious sincerity, and even for a time take charge of a Sunday school class in one of the missionary churches at Samoa. One is inclined to think that the Covenanting blood was reasserting itself with all its holy strength.

His almost complete about face brought accusations of insincerity against him by those who knew him best. The conception of the popular idol of Samoan days produced a sneer on the face of the closest friend Stevenson ever had, W. E. Henley. It is perhaps nearer the truth to say that the blaspheming youth of student days was a more insincere fellow than the Samoan idol. For it should not be forgotten that, in the midst of his love affair with Mrs. Osbourne, and one or two simultaneous amorous engagements in Edinburgh, he was the author of "Some Aspects of Robert Burns," in which he passes severe strictures on the loose living of the greatest of Scottish poets. And once married to Mrs. Osbourne, he was a dutiful, even a hen-pecked, husband.

Mr. Steuart is under no delusions concerning Stevenson's ultimate merit as a writer, despite his admiration for him. Indeed, Stevenson himself was haunted by visions of failure in his last years. What had he accomplished? A few essays, a few books of travel, and a few books for children. *Treasure Island*, which established his fame, and *The Black Arrow* were published in

Young Folks. Now it would seem that *Treasure Island* is more beloved by adults than children. Mr. Steuart thinks Stevenson was at work on his best novel when he died, *Weir of Hermiston*, which leaves one with the if-only-he-had-lived sigh on one's lips—an interesting but futile speculation. With "the sedulous ape" too Mr. Steuart deals frankly. Stevenson learned to write through a long and painful apprenticeship in which he "lived with words." Invention failing him, he began innumerable articles and stories which were never completed. Poetry, where pretty phrases and affections had free reign, came easiest to him. He was heavily imitative in all his earlier writing, and sometimes accused of plagiarism.

Perhaps he owes his endurance on the library shelves more to his striking personality, the romance of his endless wanderings in search of health and his patriarchal existence in Samoa, than to literary worth. His really heroic fortitude, and his agility in slipping from the very mouth of death, were almost uncanny. His outward gaiety when his body was sick and tired was the apotheosis of courage. And in his last years his extravagant Samoan plantation, with its hundred servants, drove him to his pen to earn money and more money until the "invalid with limited gifts" gave up the struggle and died. His death came not through the lung sicknesses he had carried all his life, but by a cerebral hemorrhage brought on by agitation and overwork.

All the facts are in Mr. Steuart's biography and they should be read with enjoyment and profit. Yet Mr. Steuart has not the literary skill which makes Thomas Beer's *Stephan Crane* a biography of first magnitude. Mr. Steuart writes fluently and easily, and his work is certainly no struggle to read. But he gives us innumerable reflections and comments of his own which are not illuminating in the least. And when he devotes several pages to a chirologist's reading of Stevenson's sculptured hand, the result is pure dullness. Yet these are small things in the total.

CARL A. WILLIAMS.

CLASSIFIED BOOK NOTES

METHODOLOGICAL

THE HENDERSON TRUST REPORTS, NUMBERS I, II AND III. By J. F. Tocher. Edinburgh: Printed by The Henderson Trust, 1905 and 1924.

Nearly twenty years ago the trustees of the above-mentioned trust funds voted to defray the expense of certain anthropometric measurements relating to cranial capacity, size and configuration of brain and related traits. The first report (1905) contained the details of an "Anthropometric Survey of the Inmates of Asylums in Scotland," and is of little interest in itself. The second report (1924) gives comparative results for "Samples of the Civil Populations of Aberdeenshire, Banffshire, and Kincardineshire," "Soldiers of Scottish Nationality" and "The Insane Population of Scotland." The third report (1924) continues the comparison of the soldiers and the insane. There is an obvious improvement in technique and understanding of fundamental problems between the first and later reports.

F. H. HANKINS.

A CENSUS ANALYSIS OF MIDDLE ATLANTIC VILLAGES. By C. Luther Fry. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1924, 32 pp. \$35.

A highly competent and reliable statistical analysis of the facts of population, nativity, social conditions, economic life, etc., for thirty-four representative villages in New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland.

H. E. B.

BIOLOGICAL

LOSSES OF LIFE CAUSED BY WAR. By Samuel Dumas and K. O. Vedel-Petersen. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923, 191 pp.

This is the most authoritative estimate yet made of the loss of life due to modern wars and is put out by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. It falls into two parts of which the first estimates the loss of life in wars previous to the Great War, and the second gives similar estimate for the latter.

F. H. H.

PSYCHOLOGICAL

LA FEMME FRANCAISE. PETITE INTRODUCTION A L'EXAMEN DE LA SOCIETE FRANCAISE CONTEMPORAINE. By Frank L. Schoell. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1924, 384 pp. \$2.50.

A lively description of the person mentioned in the title in the several roles of paysanne, ouvrière, femme de chambre, actrice, écrivain, peintre, etc. With vocabulary, pp. 199-384. Suitable for classes in French.

F. H. H.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL

NARCISSUS. By Gerald Heard. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1924, pp. 150. \$1.00.

This latest addition to the "To-Day and To-Morrow Series" carries the subtitle "An Anatomy of Clothes."

But it is vastly more than anything the word "anatomy" would suggest. It is rather the ontogeny, phylogeny, psychology and prognosis of clothes, together with considerable attention to the evolution of architecture. "The thesis of this book is that evolution is going on no longer in but around man, and the faster because working in a less resistant medium."

F. H. H.

HISTORICAL

THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY. Edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, and F. E. Adcock. Vol. I, Egypt and Babylonia to 1580 B. C. Vol. II, The Egyptian and Hittite Empires to c. 1000 B. C. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1923 and 1924, 704, 751 pp. \$8.50 and \$9.00.

These volumes do not by any means limit themselves to a presentation of the new historical disclosures of archaeological research, but give a summary of extant knowledge, anthropological, palaeontological, archaeological and historical, of the early races of man, their distribution, and the beginnings of culture, palaeolithic, neolithic, bronze and iron, Sumerian, Semitic, Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Hittite, Israelitish and others down to the Grecian. Each section is written by a specialist. Maps, charts and tables are used at intervals and comparative chronologies are added at the close.

F. H. H.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA. By V. A. Smith. Fourth edition revised by S. M. Edwards. New York: Oxford University Press, 1924, x, 535 pp. \$5.35.

A thoroughgoing and reliable chronological and political history of India from 600 B. C. to the Mohammedan invasion. It contains also some material on religion, social conditions, industry and trade.

H. E. B.

BAGDAD DURING THE ABBASID CALIPHATE. By G. Le Strange. New York: Oxford University Press, 1924, xxi, 381 pp. \$5.35.

This is a highly scholarly and detailed geographical, ethnographic and historical survey. It is a valuable contribution to the monographic literature of medieval history, and of particular significance for those interested in the relations between Europe and the East.

H. E. B.

MODERN TURKEY. By E. G. Mears et al. New York: Macmillan, 1924, xiv, 779 pp. \$4.00.

An excellent composite work on the ethnography, industry, trade, religion, social conditions, government and international relations of Turkey since 1908. Unquestionably the most valuable and useful single volume on Turkey in the English language.

H. E. B.

SOCIOLOGICAL

ESSAYS TOWARD TRUTH. STUDIES IN ORIENTATION. Selected by K. A. Robinson, William B. Pressey and J. D. McCallum. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1924, 395 pp. \$2.00.

A book of readings selected by members of the English Department of Dartmouth College presenting different viewpoints on such current topics as the purposes of college education, the meaning and success of democracy, religious trends, the relation of science to civilization and literary expression in America. Might well serve for readings in certain social science courses.

F. H. H.

ECONOMIC

OUR COMPETITORS AND MARKETS. By Arnold W. Lahee. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1924, xix, 477 pp. \$5.00.

This book occupies a unique position in the recent literature of economic geography and international trade. It is a bold attempt to select the really significant economic facts (from the standpoint of United States interests) about each foreign country, and to interpret these facts so as to arrive at definite though tentative conclusions regarding future developments.

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JURISTIC

DEBATE ON PROHIBITION. By Clarence Darrow (Negative) and John Haynes Holmes (Affirmative). New York: The League for Public Discussion, 1924, 74 pp. \$1.00.

A popular presentation of the case for and against the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act.

F. H. H.

RELIGIOUS

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION SURVEY SCHEDULES. By Walter S. Athearn. New York: George H. Doran, 1924, 271 pp. \$5.00.

Here are published in full the schedules used in the Indiana Survey of Religious Education, the results of which have been reviewed in this JOURNAL. Their publication is to be commended as showing the ground work of this elaborate undertaking. They will assist in the understanding of the other two volumes of the report and will serve as suggestive models for similar studies.

F. H. H.

MISCELLANEOUS

CAMBRIDGE READINGS IN THE LITERATURE OF SCIENCE. Arranged by W. C. D. and Margaret D. Whetham. Cambridge: University Press, 1924, 275 pp. 7s 6d.

A book of carefully selected readings covering (1) theories of the structure of the universe from Genesis to Einstein; (2) theories of the atom from Lucretius to Rutherford; and (3) theories of evolution from Aristotle to Morgan and Bergson.

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1. Data collected from social workers and special investigations that have been made recently show clearly that the most satisfactory preparation for social work is that which is conducted on a broad basis of professional education. Preparation of this character utilizes the technical contributions of allied professions, requires unity and continuity of instruction and is contingent upon centralized responsibility of direction and administration.

2. It is highly desirable, in order to meet these requirements, that a school offering preparation for social work should approximate the following specific organization, whether as an educational unit it be separate from, affiliated with, or constitute a part of a larger educational institution:

- A. An organic grouping of relevant courses of instruction into a special curriculum for the stated purpose of vocational training or professional education for social work.
- B. These grouped courses of instruction should consist, in general, of four types:
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